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The BEGINNINGS of LUTHERANISM in NEW YORK

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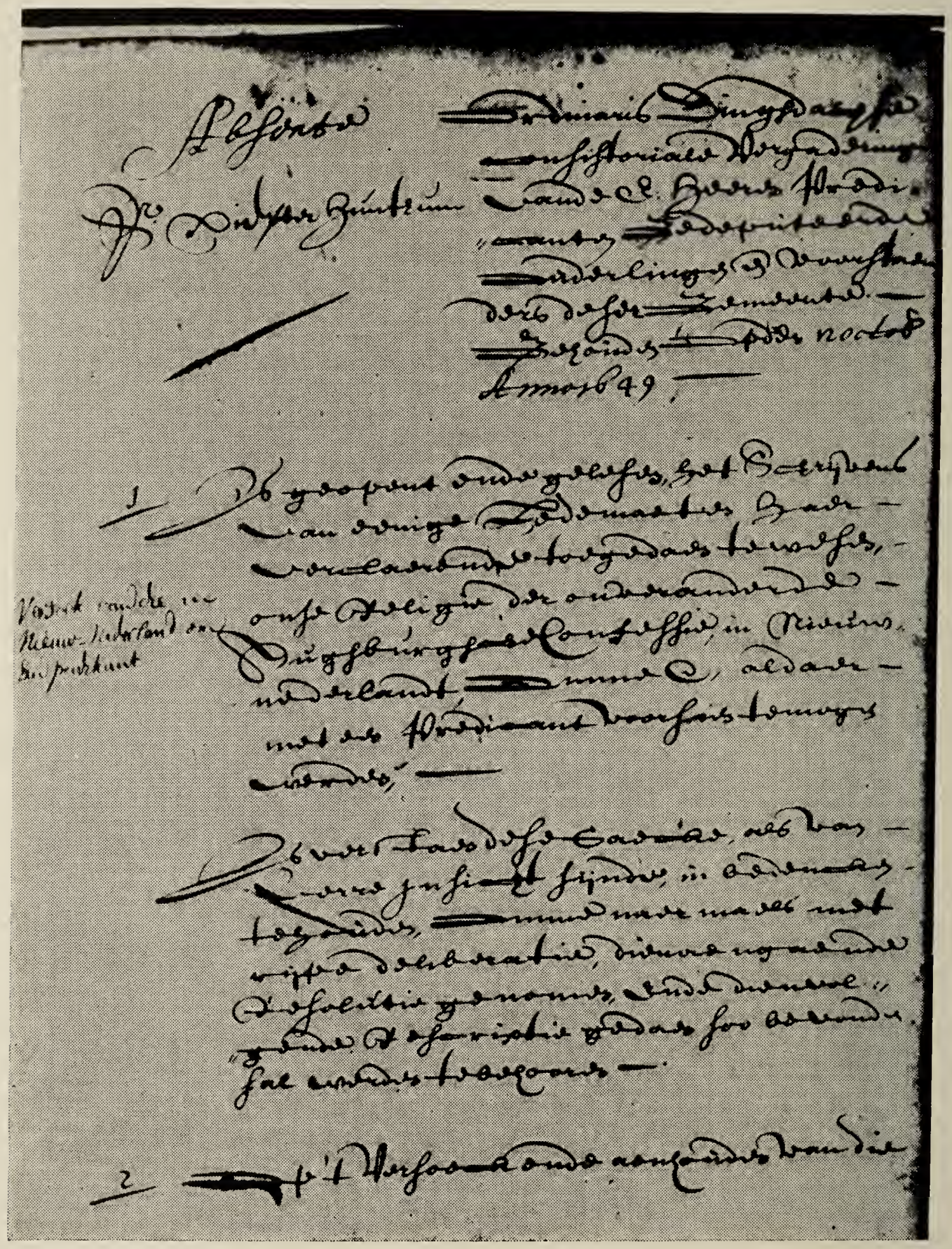
THE BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM IN NEW YORK



Earliest Extant Document of the Beginning of the Lutheran Church of New Netherland. Dated October 12, 1649. In Dutch. Translation is in Chapter 4.—From the original in the Archives of the Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, Holland.

The Beginnings of Lutheranism In New York

Harry J. Kreider, Ph.D.

Written for The United Lutheran Synod of New York in connection with its celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the oldest Lutheran Church in America.

Foreword by

Frederick R. Knubel, D.D., LL.D.

President of the Synod

New York City

1949

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To my

Mother

and to the memory of my

Father

Foreword

THIS book was written at the request of the United Lutheran Synod of New York, to celebrate the 300th anniversary of continued Lutheran organization in America.

First Lutheran Church of Albany shares with St. Matthew's Church of New York City (Missouri Synod) the honor of being the oldest Lutheran congregation in existence in this hemisphere; for the two were originally one congregation.

The document which proves the existence of this organized congregation as far back as 1649 has only recently been brought to light by the remarkable work of the Committee on Documentary History of the Synod, headed by Dr. Kreider. The recovered, recorded, and translated minutes of the Consistory of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, Holland, show the following entry, under the date of October 12, 1649:

"There was opened and read the letter from some members in New Netherland, who declared themselves to be adherents of our religion of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, requesting that they may be supplied there with a pastor."

That the "members in New Netherland" were actually a regular congregation is proved by the fact that the Consistory recognized the call as a valid basis for ordination.

Without interruption, in spite of the changes and perils of three centuries of turbulent history, the Lutherans of Albany and New York have continued their organization up to this day, with ever stronger life and increased numbers.

The story of the early days of the Lutherans under Dutch rule, as narrated in this book, gives to our day an inspiring example of brave loyalty to convictions, and of enthusiastic gratitude for the gift of the pure gospel.

In the face of unrelenting persecution, they kept the faith without wavering. In the midst of the strongest temptations to

advance and prosper themselves by forsaking the public profession of essential Christianity, as expressed in the Augsburg Confession, they maintained their Lutheran stand.

This confessional loyalty was entirely without the prop of peculiarity of language. In our day, confessional loyalty has sometimes been confused with nationalistic and linguistic loyalty. But these New York Lutherans spoke Dutch just as everyone else did.

Their true descendants in this generation, throughout the world, are the Lutherans who have sacrificed their comfort and even their life withstanding political tyranny. They live again in us when we in America stand strong in Christ under the blandishments of a questionable gospel or an ungracious theology.

The celebration of the long congregational life in New York is furthermore a fitting recognition that "the little flock" is the most important element in church organization. When the congregation falters, the whole church becomes weak; and when the congregations are holy and healthy, the work of Christ is accomplished both here and abroad. It is in the congregation that the forgiving Christ comes into practical contact with actual sinful lives. The story of the early Dutch Lutherans in America is just another example of the fulfillment of the promise of Jesus: "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

FREDERICK R. KNUBEL

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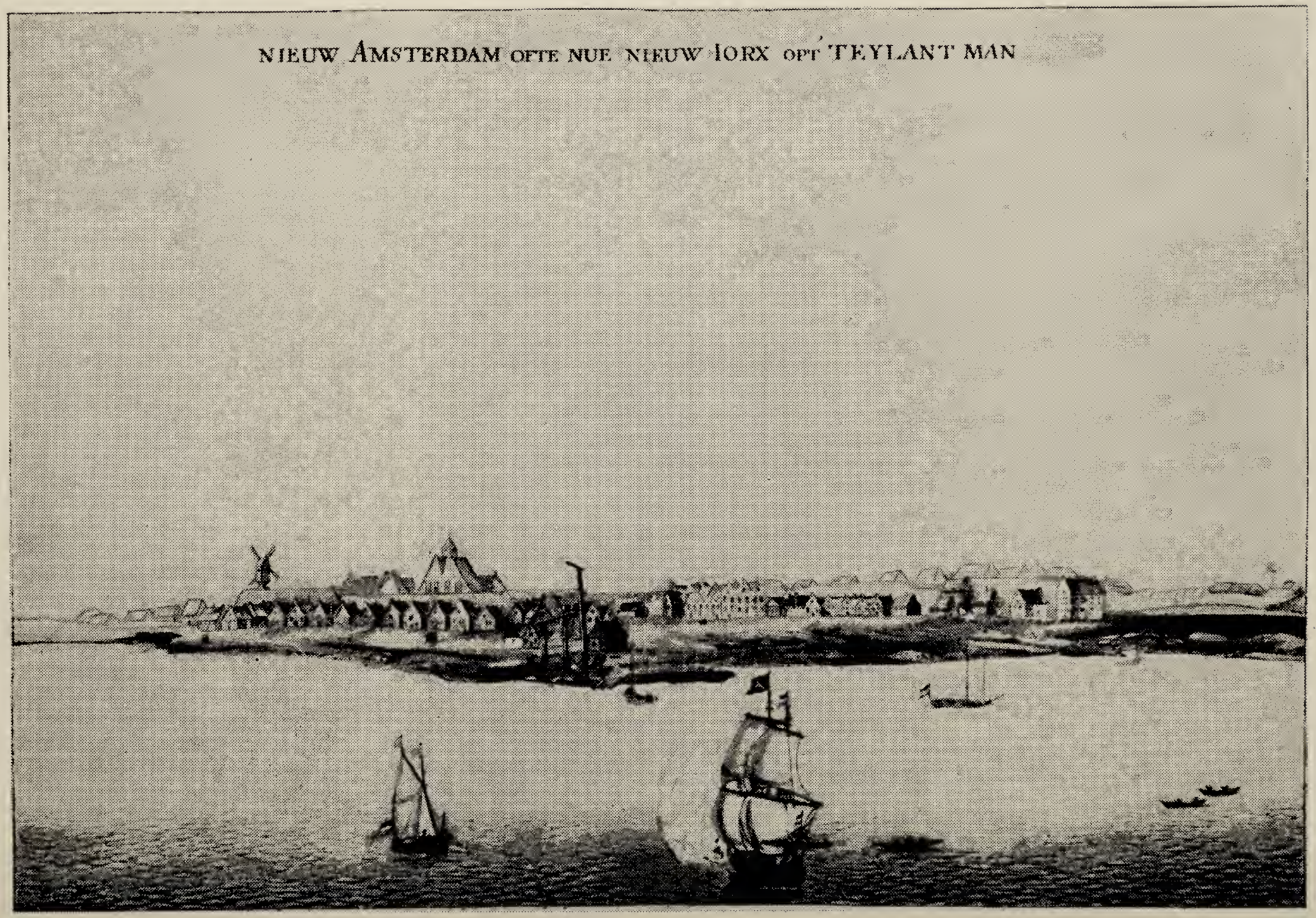
THE BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM IN NEW YORK



Manhattan When the Lutheran Church of New Netherland Was Started. "New Amsterdam now New York on the Island of Manhattan" [commonly called "The Prototype View"]. Date depicted: 1650-53. Date issued: probably c. 1670.—From a copy in The New York Public Library. (There is no view of Albany of this period.)

CHAPTER 1

Oldest Lutheran Church

LUTHERANS in New York have a glorious religious heritage, for the events associated with the establishment of their church constitute one of the most heroic chapters in the history of American Lutheranism. Moreover, their earliest congregation, which came into being just three centuries ago when New York State was the Dutch colony of New Netherland, has the distinction of being the oldest Lutheran Church in America.

The earliest years of this ancient church have until recently been shrouded in uncertainty. As a result, the title of "oldest" Lutheran Church in America has been variously claimed. One claim relates to Old Swedes Church, established in 1639 at Wilmington, Delaware, in the colony then known as New Sweden. Old Swedes Church, it is true, was begun ten years before the Lutheran Church in New Netherland came into being, but it remained in the Lutheran faith only two centuries, when it affiliated with the Episcopal Church.[1] While, therefore, the claim is rightly made that it is the *first* Lutheran Church in America, it is not the *oldest* as a continuing Lutheran congregation.

Another is the Frederick Lutheran Church in St. Thomas, one of the Virgin Islands. It was begun in 1666, has maintained existence as a Lutheran congregation to the present time,[2] and has been referred to in official reports as "the oldest in point of continuous existence in the western world."[3] But the St. Thomas Church, we now know beyond any doubt, got its start seventeen years later than that of the New Netherland Church.

Even in New York itself there has been uncertainty, for two Lutheran congregations in that state claim the coveted distinction. One is First Church in Albany, using the year 1644 for the beginning of its existence;[4] the other is St. Matthew's Church in

New York City, using the year 1664.[5] Curiously enough, neither uses the correct year,[6] and neither can claim to be *the* oldest church. The year 1649 marks the beginning of the Lutheran Church in the colony, and for the first twenty years of its existence it was known as the Lutheran Church *of New Netherland,* with members living at Albany and New York City, as well as in nearby New Jersey and Long Island. Then, in 1669, the members at Albany and New York City became separate congregations. Both have maintained continuous existence in the Lutheran faith to the present time, bearing the names now of First Lutheran Church in Albany and St. Matthew's Lutheran Church in New York City.[7]

The reason for the uncertainty and confusion is the fact that the records relating to the actual beginnings were practically unknown until recently.[8] The records were all in existence, but they were lodged in the archives of the ancient Lutheran Church in the city of Amsterdam, Holland. The story of their recovery, translation and publication covers a period of nearly fifteen years, and was concluded only in October of 1948 when the whole collection was published in a complete volume.[9]

These records at last make possible certain definitive conclusions, namely, that the Lutheran Church in New York State had its beginning in 1649; that the Church has had continuous existence in the Lutheran faith through the two congregations into which it was later divided, as related above; that the Church begun in 1649 is the oldest Lutheran Church in America; that this coveted distinction is shared jointly by First Lutheran Church in Albany and St. Matthew's Lutheran Church in New York City.[10]

New Netherland

When the Lutherans of New Netherland organized themselves, the colony was already a quarter century old. It was started in 1624,[11] when a small company of thirty families, most of them French Huguenots, came from Holland under the direction of the newly created Dutch West India Company.[12] Eighteen of the families went to Albany, and made that the principal settlement. The

other families were settled on Manhattan Island, and at Gloucester, New Jersey.[13]

Two years later Peter Minuit became governor, and put through that most famous of all Manhattan real estate deals when he purchased the whole island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars. Albany was discontinued as the chief settlement in favor of Manhattan,[14] which became the seat of the colonial government.

The colony, however, made little progress. Governors were incompetent, and the West India Company was concerned chiefly with profits from the fur trade. Nearly twenty years after the first settlers arrived, the population of Manhattan and its environs was reported to be only some four to five hundred, and at Albany only about a hundred.[15]

Things changed when Peter Stuyvesant became governor in 1647.[16] His administration, which continued for seventeen years to the close of the Dutch rule, is of particular interest here, because the Lutheran movement was organized shortly after his arrival. Stuyvesant was an able governor, and took his responsibilities seriously. But he was also quite intolerant and autocratic, and when he could not have his own way he was said to "strut around like a peacock, with great state and pomp, thoughtless of others as if he were the Czar of Muscovy."

The colony took on new life, particularly after the close of the ruinous Thirty Years' War in Europe in 1648. Many people from northern Europe, which had suffered so much in the war, turned to New Netherland as a place of refuge. Soon every ship brought immigrants,[17] and the number kept increasing year by year. The growth in population, however, was never staggering. Manhattan, which grew more rapidly than other towns, had in 1660 only 342 homes, and four years later a population of only about 1500.[18]

When we speak of "the population" of New Netherland, we should keep in mind that this is not synonymous with "the Dutch." New Netherland, it is true, was a Dutch colony, its principal offices were held by Dutchmen, and its development followed the Dutch pattern. But the population was from the beginning cosmopolitan.

The earliest colonists, we will recall, were not predominantly Dutch, but French Huguenots. Within twenty years eighteen languages were spoken in and around Manhattan.[19] Yet withal there was a remarkable homogeneity, because nearly everybody used the Dutch language.

Religious Intolerance

When the West India Company formulated its regulations for the government of New Netherland, in 1624, it stated clearly that the colonists "shall hold no other services than those of the true Reformed Religion, in the manner in which they are at present conducted" in Holland. This applied only to public services. Families which accepted other than the Reformed faith were to be permitted to worship privately in their own homes, without anyone "persecuting them on account of their faith."[20]

The establishment of the Reformed Church and the exclusion of all other faiths appears strange to us today. But three hundred years ago it was merely a carry-over of the situation prevailing in Europe. Several instances of Reformed-Lutheran relations there will make this clear.[21]

In Holland the Reformed Church was dominant. The Lutheran Church was barely tolerated, through a curious device which its members called "by connivance."[22] That is, the Lutheran Church was not legally permitted, but inasmuch as its members were law-abiding citizens, the law forbidding it was sometimes not enforced.

The Lutherans had not always had even that much toleration in Holland. For years they had been persecuted by the Reformed leaders. The persecution reached its climax in 1600, particularly in Amsterdam, where for a brief period the Lutheran Church was actually closed. Then the civil authorities stepped in and put a stop to the persecution. They wanted nothing to interfere with the growing prosperity of Holland arising from the overseas trade, and they insisted upon internal peace in the cities. In the

towns and villages, however, the ban on Lutheran services continued to be enforced.

Such intolerance was taken for granted everywhere. The Lutherans did the same in places where they were dominant. In Hamburg, Germany, for example, the Lutheran Church dominance was so complete that Reformed services could not be held even "by connivance." As a matter of fact, the Lutherans even protested against the holding of Reformed services in the Netherlands legation house there.

If most of the inhabitants of New Netherland had been Dutch, the monopoly of the Reformed Church might have gone unchallenged. But the cosmopolitan population made that impossible. Before the colony was twenty years old, there were in Manhattan, besides the Dutch Reformed, already five other religious groups: Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Baptists and Mennonites.[23]

As the population increased under Stuyvesant, it was inevitable that attempts should be made by the non-Reformed groups to secure religious freedom. The Lutherans, largest in number next to the Reformed, were the first to attempt it, but since that story is the theme of this volume, it will be told in succeeding chapters.

Jews, Puritans, Quakers Persecuted

Several years after the Lutherans had organized, a group of Jews made some feeble attempts for toleration, but they soon learned that they would be kept in their place. They had quite a struggle even to get permission to have a burial ground of their own. But that was all. They were told in no uncertain terms to give up any idea of securing the "privilege of exercising their religion in a synagogue or at a gathering."[24]

The same year (1656) that the Jews were told off so plainly, two other groups became active. The English Puritans, or Independents, at Newtown, Queens Borough, Long Island, tried to hold services of their own, but the authorities promptly clamped

down on them.[25] And at Flushing, Long Island, a Baptist, who was also the sheriff of the town, conducted services for a group of fellow-religionists at his home. For such an outrageous act, being a government official, he was banished from the colony.[26]

The following year (1657) the Quakers gave the authorities plenty of worries. The trouble started in Manhattan, but spread to Long Island. Two "strong young women" of Quaker persuasion had landed in Manhattan, and shortly afterward had set the town on its ears when they "began to quake and go into a frenzy, and cry out loudly in the middle of the street that men should repent, for the day of judgment was at hand." After considerable confusion, the two women were "seized by the head," and imprisoned.[27]

Shortly afterward, activity "of the abominable sect of Quakers" flared up at Flushing and Gravesend, which led to arrests and fines. The authorities appeared to be so concerned about the possible spread of this "new, unheard of, abominable heresy," that a day of general fasting and prayer was proclaimed, on which day all amusements and hilarity were forbidden.[28]

Three years later the "heresy" flared up in Jamaica and elsewhere on Long Island, and persons who were known to be involved in it were arrested, fined or banished. To keep the movement suppressed, soldiers were quartered in Jamaica in the homes of Quaker sympathizers, and some magistrates were deposed who had not enforced the laws promptly.[29]

Right down the line, one after another of the non-Reformed groups was suppressed. And when the Dutch rule of forty years came to a close, the colonial authorities could boast of at least one unenviable record of achievement—they had made a perfect score in keeping religious freedom out of the colony.

CHAPTER 2

Lutherans in New Netherland

THE Lutherans made up a fair-sized proportion of the whole population in New Netherland. In 1653, six years after Stuyvesant's arrival, they claimed to have about one hundred and fifty families "on Manhattan, at Fort Orange (Albany), as well as on Long Island."[30] Three years later the population of Manhattan embraced only about 1,000 persons living in 120 homes.

The Lutherans were of various nationalities, coming for the most part from Germany, the Scandinavian countries and East Friesland.[31] Most of them were from regions which had suffered severely during the Thirty Years' War.

In Manhattan there were at least seven nationalities of Lutherans: German, Danish, Frisian, Norwegian, Dutch, Polish and Swedish. Five of these nationalities were represented in a group of twenty-four signers of an important Lutheran petition in 1657. This group, which serves as a good cross-section of the Lutheran constituency in Manhattan, embraced among the known nationalities eleven Germans, five Danes, two Frisians, a Norwegian and a Hollander.

At Albany, the names of at least sixteen Lutherans are known, and among them there were at least five nationalities: six Frisians, three Danes, two Norwegians, a German and a French Huguenot.

Despite the many nationalities, the Lutherans were readily assimilated because they were held closely together by two bonds, namely, a common faith and a common language. The first bond was the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, distinctive confession of the Lutheran Church. The colonial Lutherans consistently referred to themselves as "adherents" or "joint members" of the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession."

The other bond was the knowledge of a common language,

the Dutch. Though the Germans predominated in Manhattan, and the Scandinavians and Frisians in Albany, nevertheless only Dutch was used for many years at the public services in both places.

The Lutherans began arriving in the colony, so far as is known from existing records, in 1637 in Albany, and in 1639 in Manhattan.[32] Among the earliest was Jonas Bronck, for whom the Bronx is named, but he died before the Lutheran movement became organized.[33]

The Lutherans were of the middle-class, merchants, shopkeepers, mechanics and farmers. Of the group at Manhattan mentioned above, nineteen occupations are known:[34] four professional soldiers, two turners, two farmers, two tavern-keepers, a baker, an accountant, a real estate dealer, a skipper, a master carpenter, a cooper, a cobbler, a brewer's man, and a laborer at the weighhouse.

Nearly all of them owned their own property. Their homes and shops were scattered all over Manhattan, from the fort to the East River, and north to the city wall.[35]

Of the group at Albany, the fourteen occupations known were not so diversified.[36] There were six traders and real estate dealers, of whom one was also a brewer, and another also a tobacco planter; five bakers, two blacksmiths, and a tobacco planter. Most of them, like their fellow Lutherans in Manhattan, owned their own homes and shops.[37]

The Leaders

Of more than usual interest are the early leaders, for the beginning of the Lutheran Church in New York was wholly a laymen's movement. No Lutheran missionary came to the colony to organize a congregation. The precarious tolerance granted the Lutheran Church in Holland made it impossible for that body even to think of sending a missionary to the colony. The Lutheran Church in the colony, therefore, was organized by laymen, the first services were conducted by laymen, and when the first pastor arrived, he came by virtue of a call extended by the congregation organized by these laymen.

Among the prominent leaders in Manhattan were Daniel Litschoe, Hendrick Willemsen, Matthys Capito, and Paulus Schrick. In New Jersey, associated with the Manhattan leaders, was Casper Steinmetz. In Albany were Volckert Jansen Douw, Albert Andriessen Bratt, and Tjerck Claessen de Witt. Of all of them, Paulus Schrick was the most brilliant.

The Manhattan Leaders

Daniel Litschoe has the distinction of having his name at the head of the list of leaders of the earliest known Lutheran petition in New Netherland.[38] Prior to coming to Manhattan, he had been a sergeant in the service of the West India Company. In Manhattan he conducted, at the present No. 71 Wall Street, a tavern which was spoken of as "the best and most principal tavern."[39]

Litschoe held a number of offices of trust, including that of lieutenant of the guard. By virtue of his commission he was one of the twenty citizens invested with the Great Burgher (that is, Citizen) Right, when that distinction was established in Manhattan in 1657.[40] He was the only Lutheran known to have received it.

It is not known whether he continued his activity in the Lutheran cause up to the time of his death about 1661, for his name does not appear upon any Lutheran petition after 1653. Perhaps his distinction as a Great Burgher made him cautious about being publicly aligned with a group that was being bitterly persecuted by the authorities. At any rate, he did not become a member of the dominant Dutch Reformed Church, so it is likely that he did not desert the Lutheran cause.[41]

Hendrick Willemsen, in contrast to Daniel Litschoe, was one of the most consistent in his espousal of the Lutheran cause. He was a baker by trade, but no ordinary one, for he was characterized as "the most successful and important baker of New Amsterdam (Manhattan) and early New York." He had his home and bakery at the southeast corner of the present Whitehall and Stone Streets; this property was later rented by the Englishman Francis Lovelace for his residence while governor of New York.[42] Willemsen was

associated with the church from the beginning, and he became an elder in it upon its formal organization.[43]

Matthys Capito was an associate of Willemsen in the early years of the Lutheran movement. He was an excellent accountant and scribe, and as such did much work for the government. In 1663 he removed from Manhattan to become secretary of the village of Kingston, a post which he retained until his death four years later.[44] He had been faithful in the Lutheran cause until his removal to Kingston. There he probably had no means of continuing his association with his fellow leaders of Manhattan.

Another prominent Lutheran associated with the Manhattan leaders was Casper Steinmetz, though his residence for most of the time was in Jersey City, New Jersey. While in Manhattan he owned a home on Stone Street near Broad Street. When he left permanently for New Jersey he rented his Manhattan home to the city for the first school building.[45] In Jersey City he rose to prominence, becoming one of its earliest magistrates and later commander of the militia.[46]

When the Lutheran Church was formally organized, Steinmetz was made an elder of the Manhattan congregation.[47] Of all the early leaders he was the oldest in length of service, for he was still an elder of the church as late as 1699, fifty years after the founding of the church, and three years before his death.[48]

The Albany Leaders

Of the trio of leaders in Albany, Volckert Jansen Douw was the most prominent. He was the only representative of the Albany Lutherans who signed the earliest petition for freedom of worship.[49] He lived in and around Albany most of his life, and was a trader, brewer and real estate operator.[50] He was highly regarded by the civil authorities. He accompanied Arent van Curler in 1650 on an embassy to the Mohawks, and some years later was a deputy to confer with the same Indians over difficulties with the Dutch. For a number of years he was a magistrate of the court of Albany.[51]

The second of the Albany leaders, Tjerck Claessen de Witt, is credited with conducting the first Lutheran services there.[52] He lived in Albany for several years after that, when he removed permanently to Kingston. He was a dealer in real estate in and around Kingston, and held several prominent offices there, first as sheriff and then as magistrate.[53] He doubtless got to know Matthys Capito at Kingston, but he is not again mentioned in the Lutheran records. He probably kept in touch with the Lutheran leaders through his brother-in-law, Martin Hoffman,[54] a leader in the New York City church after the English took over the colony.

The third Albany leader, Albert Andriessen Bratt, was one of the earliest Lutherans to settle in Albany. There is no doubt about his versatility. He was a fur trader, tobacco planter, dealer in real estate, and operator of two saw mills.[55] He was long in the service of the Lutheran congregation in Albany. He was associated with de Witt in starting public services there, and became one of the elders in the congregation when the formal organization took place.[56]

Paulus Schrick, Ablest Leader

Of all the leaders, Paulus Schrick was undeniably the ablest and most brilliant whom the Lutherans had in the early years of their struggle for freedom of worship, as will be related in succeeding chapters. He was a wealthy merchant and free trader, with his principal residence at Hartford, Connecticut.[57] But he had a residence also in Manhattan, where he lived for a time in a rented house at the present No. 18 Pearl Street.[58] His business took him to Pennsylvania, to Albany, to Holland and to Germany.[59] He was one of the few men in New Netherland to be titled "Heer" or "Sieur," or, as in Albany, "The Honorable."[60]

It is quite evident that the Lutheran movement became aggressive solely through Schrick's stimulating leadership. He got the movement into sustained action; he visited the officials of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam a number of times to forward the movement; he conducted the first Lutheran services in the colony;

and he found the candidate in Europe who was to become the first Lutheran pastor in New Netherland.

It is to these men and their associates that we owe the beginning of the Lutheran Church in New York three centuries ago. They knew that if a church were ever to be established, they would have to do it themselves. And it is to their everlasting credit that they attempted magnificently to fulfill their responsibility. That they were temporarily crushed, like all the other non-Reformed groups, was due to no fault of theirs—the forces against them were just too powerful to be overcome.

CHAPTER 3

Come Over and Help Us

As THE colony became stabilized under Governor Stuyvesant, the Lutherans began to sense their strength and to talk seriously about the possibility of a church of their own. There is, of course, no contemporary writing, such as an official minute book of the congregation or a diary of a leader, to tell us all that happened. But the correspondence, voluminous for the times, reveals enough to enable us to reconstruct much of what took place, and even what the Lutherans must have been talking about for a long time.

Irritating Reformed Practices

The Lutherans must have talked much about how good it would be to have a church of their own. They thought highly of their faith, for they and their parents, and even generations before them, had been brought up in it. For that reason, they decidedly did not like the attitude of the Reformed leaders in scoffing at their loyalty to that faith, as though such loyalty were something of small importance.[61] After all, they, like their Reformed brethren, had a catechism which they had committed to memory, together with a ritual which they cherished from their childhood. Furthermore, they had a deep affection for their communion, with its distinctive doctrine of the Real Presence of their Lord.

For another thing, they wanted their children baptized by a Lutheran pastor. The baptism of their children in the Reformed Church was the source of considerable irritation to them, for one of the questions asked of parents and sponsors at the service was whether they accepted "the doctrine which is taught here in the [Reformed] Church."[62] In a place where only the Reformed Church was permitted, such a question seemed anything but fair to conscientious Lutherans, for if they expressed any disagree-

ment with the offending statement they feared that the sacrament might be withheld from their little ones.

Some Lutheran parents tried to avoid the dilemma by staying away from the service and letting the sponsors take the children to the church. But the Reformed ministers did not like that, and insisted upon the parents being present.[63] Consequently, whether the parents went to the church or tried to stay at home, they were irritated at the compulsion forced upon them.

Then, when the children grew up, the Lutheran parents experienced more irritation, in the religious instruction of their children. Surely they would want their children brought up on Luther's catechism, with its familiar teachings which they themselves had learned so well, and which they cherished next to the Word of God itself. But outside the home, their children would have to learn the Reformed catechism. That was certainly true when the children attended the Reformed Church. The rules set up for the schoolmaster, who taught in both the church and the elementary school, stated clearly that he "shall teach the children and pupils the Christian prayers, commandments, baptism, Lord's Supper, and the questions with answers of the catechism, which are taught here every Sunday afternoon in the church."[64]

The Lutheran parents found that the same was true in the elementary school. That institution was intimately associated with the Reformed Church, and instruction in the Reformed faith was one of the three principal phases of its learning: first, the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic); second, the Reformed religion; and third, good manners. The rule for the schoolmaster concerning religious instruction was quite definite: "He is also to implant the fundamental principles of the true Christian Religion and salvation, by means of catechizing; he is to teach them the customary forms of prayers, and also to accustom them to pray."[65]

The Lutherans Hope and Plan

Impelling as all these reasons were, and desirable as a church of their own could be, there were, nevertheless, some serious prob-

lems that would have to be faced. The Lutherans must have talked often and at great length about them.

There was the problem of the number of people in the colony of their own faith, with whom to start a congregation. The answer to that question was hopeful. They must have had already about a hundred families in Manhattan, Albany and on Long Island.[66] That compared favorably with the Reformed Church membership, which in Manhattan was only a hundred and seventy members, and at Albany even less.[67] And since the Reformed Church authorities claimed that some of the members were Lutherans,[68] the actual Reformed membership was less. Why, then, could not the Lutherans have a church of their own? There certainly seemed to be every indication that they had enough members to start one.

Then another problem injected itself. Were they able to support a church of their own? They would have no easy way, such as the Reformed Church had. That church was supported by the government. Its ministers' salaries were included in the colonial budget (though chronically in arrears). It received revenue outside the budget too, in a portion of the fines levied for infractions of the law, at first receiving one-quarter of the fine, later one-sixth.[69]

The Lutherans, on the contrary, would have to pay for everything out of their own pockets. That meant the pastor's salary, Bibles, hymn books, catechisms, and, most formidable prospect of all, a church building. They might get some donations from Lutheran churches in Europe, but at best the amount would be small. There was no missionary society in Europe to whom they might look for regular contributions until they were well established. In short, they would be entirely on their own.

But they felt they were strong enough to do it. It would not be necessary to erect a building right away; they could rent or buy a dwelling for that purpose.[70] They would try to get a pastor who was unmarried, so that they would be obligated for a smaller salary. They figured that they would have to raise for such a salary $320 a year, which was about half as much as that promised the Reformed minister,[71] together with free dwelling and fuel.[72]

This of course would be assumed by the Lutherans of both Manhattan and Albany, for only one pastor was thought of for the whole colony.

The biggest problem, however, was yet to be faced. Would the government allow it? There was the clearly stated law: no other Church than the Reformed was to be allowed. What was the use of all this Lutheran talk about the desirability of a church of their own, when the law said it could not be?

But there was a glimmer of hope. The same situation prevailed in Holland. The law there also forbade other than the Reformed Church, and still a number of Lutheran churches were tolerated, even if through so risky a means as "by connivance." That being the case in Holland, might it not be possible to get the authorities in the colony to be just as lenient? Well, there was no better way to find out than to go ahead and try for it.

Appeal to Amsterdam Lutheran Church

But how should they go about it? It did not seem wise for them to go up to the colonial officials with a request, for that might result in a blunt refusal. The wise course, by all means, was for them to take it up first with the officials of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, to learn what to do that might give them the best chances of success. If anyone knew the answer to their problem, it was the Amsterdam Church leaders, after all that their church had gone through to gain its own toleration. So they set to work to draft a letter to the Consistory (that is, the church council or governing body) of the Amsterdam Church. The Consistory at Amsterdam had at the time considerable prestige and power among the Lutherans of Holland, probably even more than the Lutheran Synod there itself had.[73]

The colonial Lutherans doubtless had a number of gatherings in both Manhattan and Albany before all the details of their letter were settled. At any rate, sometime in the spring or summer of 1649 they put the letter into its final form, the most important part of which was the petition "for advice and assistance as to how

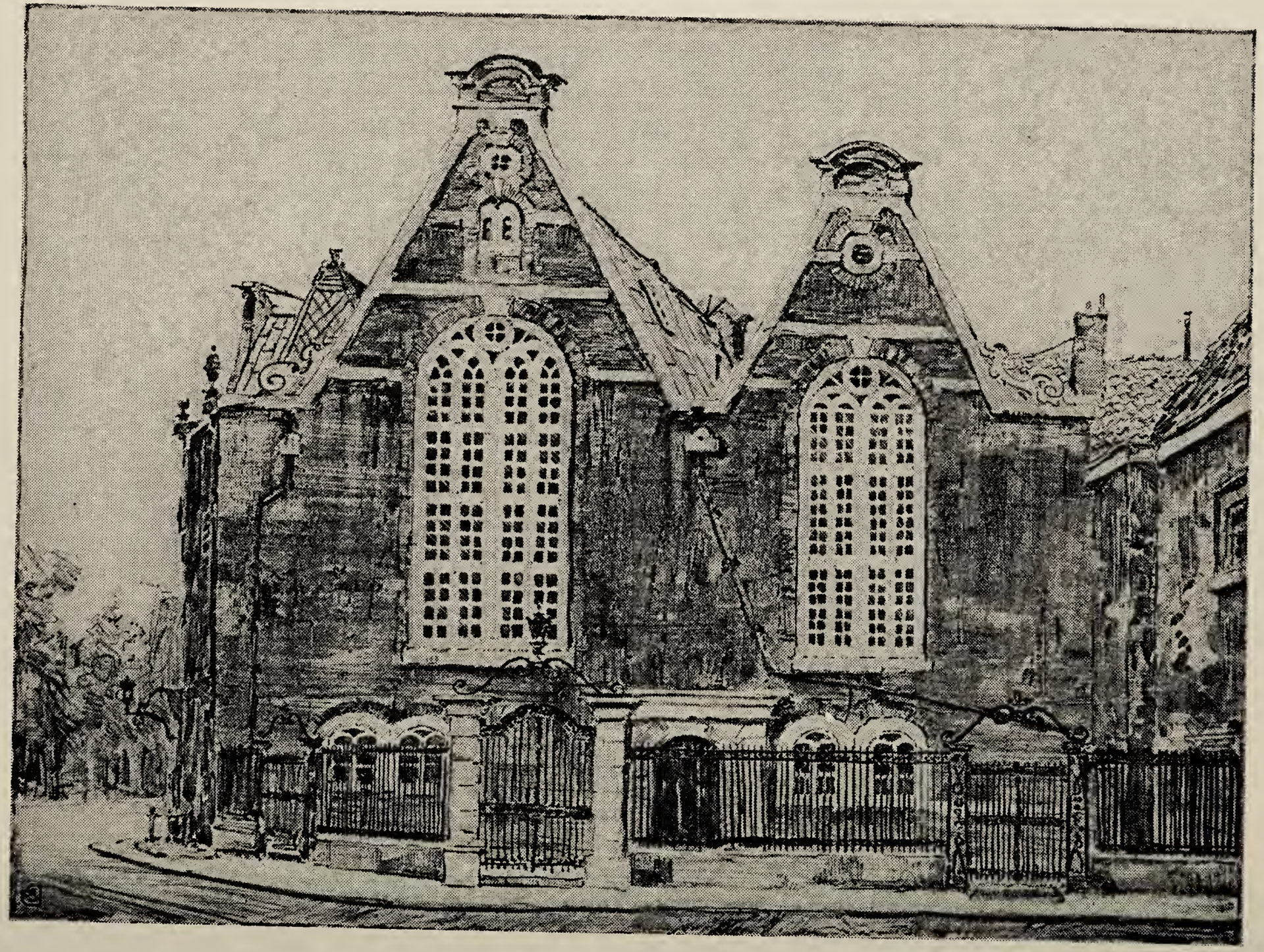
they might obtain a pastor and the public exercise of religion according to the Augsburg Confession."[74]

If the Consistory knew of a pastor, the colonial Lutherans were ready to call him. The only item they overlooked in the letter, and which they corrected after it was called to their attention, was a paragraph that would serve as a "binding agreement" or guarantee for the support which they agreed to give to such a pastor.[75]

It is likely that the meeting at which the letter was approved was held in Manhattan, for most of the leaders lived there. Upon its approval, several men were selected as a delegation to take the petition personally to Amsterdam.[76]

In this formal act of petitioning corporately for a pastor, the Lutheran Church in New York came into being. It was the simplest kind of organization. Yet it was a Lutheran congregation in the true sense of the word, for its members were bound together by a common acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, and as such "joint members" they were ready to call whatever pastor the Consistory at Amsterdam might recommend.

Little and insignificant and loosely organized as the group was, it was recognized as a regular congregation by the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam. In the matter of the call of a pastor, the powerful Consistory assumed no rights to itself, but made it clear that it would tender such a call only "pursuant to the request made by the members of our Confession in New Netherland, and the power thereto conferred in their letter upon this Consistory."[77]



The Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, Holland. Here the delegation of the New Netherland Lutheran Church went with a petition for a pastor.—From an etching received from the Church by courtesy of Simon Hart, its present Archivist.

CHAPTER 4

Blocked

THE members of the delegation proceeded hopefully to Amsterdam, and on Tuesday, October 12, 1649, they appeared before the Consistory of the Amsterdam Lutheran Church with the letter of their fellow Lutherans of New Netherland. Note of the presentation was made in the minutes of the Consistory as follows:[78]

> There was opened and read the letter from some members in New Netherland, who declared themselves to be adherents of our religion of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, requesting that they may be supplied there with a pastor.

We do not know how much the matter was talked over at the meeting, for nothing is mentioned in the minutes. We do know, however, that the Consistory recognized the matter as of genuine importance, and wanted to consider it fully before any decision was made. This was expressed in the minutes by a second paragraph:

> It is decided to keep this matter, as being of far-reaching consequence, under consideration, in order later, after mature deliberation, to take action thereon and accordingly to make such answer as shall be found proper.

Amsterdam Consistory Cannot Help

A week later, October 19, the Consistory had the matter up again. Perhaps the New Netherland delegation was present, but the minutes make no reference to it one way or the other.

The members of the Consistory, however, did not appear enthusiastic. In view of the precarious toleration of their own

church, there was no telling what additional troubles might be stirred up if they went ahead with the request of their colonial brethren. So they decided not to do anything at present, but to hold the request in abeyance until a more favorable time. In the official minutes it was put this way:[79]

> There was taken up again and considered further the letter and request of those who acknowledge themselves to be members of the community of our Confession in New Netherland, heretofore made and delivered to this body. And it was decided not to hasten with the final resolution and answer concerning its contents, as it is a matter of far-reaching consequence and the most serious consideration to engage therein, in view of the state of the country and the situation of our churches at this juncture of time.

Only an oral answer seems to have been given the delegation; there appears to be no record of a written one.

Nothing further was done for four years. The colonial Lutherans kept waiting for word from the Consistory, but no word came. Perhaps they felt that writing another letter to the Consistory would be of little avail, unless the message could be presented personally. Such an opportunity came to them in the fall of 1653, when Paulus Schrick, ablest of the Manhattan leaders, agreed to visit the Consistory while on a business trip to Europe. This time they proceeded much more thoroughly than four years ago.

They prepared two petitions to the Netherlands civil authorities.[80] One was addressed to the States General (or government) of The Netherlands; the other was addressed to the Directors of the West India Company, at Amsterdam.

In the petitions, the colonial Lutherans stated that they had about a hundred and fifty families of their faith, living at Manhattan, Albany and Long Island. Their "souls were longing and thirsting" for Lutheran services, and they hoped the authorities would "kindly allow and permit them here in these places to hold

public worship," under the leadership of a Lutheran pastor to be "maintained at their own expense."

They did not go over Governor Stuyvesant's head by sending the petitions directly to Holland, but handed the documents to him with the request to transmit them to the Holland authorities. In that they doubtless felt they would avoid giving offense to Stuyvesant and hurting their cause. But, as events turned out, they could hardly have hurt their cause more even if they had completely ignored him.

They then addressed a letter to the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam,[81] in which they mentioned the two petitions prepared for the civil authorities. They implored the Consistory "for the love of our [Lutheran] community" to help secure the freedom of worship and a pastor for which they had been "longing with hearts and souls."

As to the pastor, they hoped that he would be one who "is graduated, unmarried, learned, eloquent and of irreproachable life and conduct." They needed him "not only to preach, marry and baptize, but also at first to be employed as precentor (that is, leader of the singing) in the church." And though most of their members were German, they nevertheless desired the pastor to be a Hollander, "inasmuch as the Dutch language is most commonly used here and our children are also instructed therein."

Six leaders signed the letter to the Consistory. One was from Albany, four from Manhattan and one from Jersey City.[82] Four of the six were leaders mentioned previously: Daniel Litschoe, Hendrick Willemsen, Matthys Capito and Volckert Jansen Douw.

Blocked by Reformed Leaders

If the colonial Lutherans had any idea of getting the grudging toleration which their brethren in Holland had achieved, they soon learned that they were sorely mistaken. Stuyvesant did not transmit the two petitions directly to Holland, so that the authorities there might act without prejudice, but first called in the two Reformed ministers of the city to discuss the matter. As a result,

a letter went off immediately to the governing body of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam,[83] urging its members to exert their "influence with the Honorable Directors of the [West India] Company so that the project of our Lutheran friends may be rejected."

The Reformed officials in Holland acted promptly and efficiently. They interviewed the Directors and received assurance that the Lutheran plea would not be granted. They promised also to keep an eye upon the members of the States General, to thwart any inclination on their part to favor the Lutheran petition. They reported that everything had been taken care of by the first of January, 1654.[84]

Paulus Schrick, who had set out in the meantime with the letter to the Lutheran Consistory, did not arrive in Amsterdam until January 20. It was futile to hope for anything then, after all that the opposition had done to block the Lutheran request.

The Consistory recognized the situation as hopeless, and advised Schrick that "dangerous consequences" would certainly result if he should attempt now to visit the Directors or the States General. Publicly, therefore, he should give every assurance of admitting defeat and doing nothing in consequence; but privately he should be on the alert and "quietly seek to contract with someone" to go to New Netherland to become the pastor there. To that end, Schrick had the Consistory's promise "to lend him a helping hand."[85]

The Consistory's advice was good. A month later the Directors of the West India Company took action completely disapproving the Lutheran petition, and promptly notified Stuyvesant to that effect:[86]

> We have decided absolutely to deny the request made by some of our inhabitants, adherents of the Augsburg Confession, for a preacher and free exercise of their religion . . .; and we recommend to you also not to receive any similar petitions, but rather to turn them off in the most civil and least offensive way, and to employ all possible but moderate means in order to induce them to listen and finally join the Reformed Church.

Neither Stuyvesant nor the Reformed ministers could have desired anything more conclusive than that. They doubtless considered the disturbance at an end, for the Lutherans had nothing to say. The latter were quiet, however, only because they had had no word from the Consistory as to what they should do; nor had they heard from Schrick, who, after visiting the Consistory, had continued on his business trip in Holland and Germany.

Hopeful News From Amsterdam

It was more than a year before Schrick finished his business, and on his way back he stopped at Amsterdam to consult further with the Consistory.[87] From that body he received a letter to his fellow Lutherans in the colony—a letter so discreet that no harm would be done should it fall into the hands of the opposition. But of real import were the private conclusions which were determined upon between himself and the Consistory, for he returned to the colony with a purpose that was greatly to hearten the Lutherans, and also greatly to stir up a hornet's nest for them.

Schrick arrived in Manhattan, probably in the summer of 1655, with the letter of the Consistory.[88] The letter, to an uninitiated Lutheran, was a keen disappointment. If the colonial Lutherans, it said, should go ahead with their original plan of appealing directly to the States General and the West India Company Directors, they would "hurt rather than promote" their cause.

Nor should they hope too much of the Consistory, because that body was powerless to do anything openly on their behalf. Furthermore, there was no pastor or candidate who could be sent to them. So, the letter concluded, "as far as possible, by meeting among yourselves, keep the community and members of Christ together and seek to increase their number."

One could hardly imagine a more hopeless prospect. That is, until Schrick told them of the private advice which the Consistory had given him. That innocent looking admonition, for example, about "meeting among yourselves," was to be interpreted as noth-

ing less than "to assemble secretly for the observance of your religion."[89]

Now that was something to get excited about. Now the message of the Consistory seemed plain as day. There was nothing to be gained by marking time. Nor was anything to be gained by standing humbly in line to await the pleasure of the unbending civil authorities. Go ahead, start services quietly and secretly, and then hope for the best. It might even turn out that the colonial authorities would follow the example of the authorities in Holland, and permit the services to continue "by connivance."

CHAPTER 5

Persecuted

THE Lutherans were not slow putting into practice the "private advice" brought back by Schrick, and under his leadership they "assembled themselves secretly, to edify themselves mutually."[90] They probably met around in the homes of various members, to preserve the secrecy. The services were of the simplest order: a prayer, some singing, the reading of the Scripture with comments, and the reading of a sermon.[91]

Church Services Are Suppressed

It is not known how many services were held, beyond the statement that they "had continued for some time."[92] It was certainly not more than a few months in the fall and early winter, because in January of the following year, 1656, the Reformed authorities caught up with them and reported them to Governor Stuyvesant.

The Governor and his Council, convening on February 1, proclaimed in language which no one could possibly misunderstand, that there would be no "conniving" on their part. And to make certain that the Lutherans would be permanently discouraged, a stringent ordinance was passed forbidding any but Reformed services, under penalty of a fine of $240 for "all who presume to exercise the duties of a preacher, reader or precentor"; and a fine of $60 for any "man or woman found at such a meeting."[93]

The Albany Lutherans learned of Schrick's activities, and they proceeded also to hold services. Just how many they held is not known, for only one is mentioned in the records. That one was on Sunday, January 30, 1656, at the home of seventy year old Captain Willem Juriaenssen, located in what is now the park in front of the

Delaware and Hudson Building in Albany.[94] It was conducted by the Lutheran leader Tjerck Claessen de Witt, for fifteen people who were present besides himself.

Having learned of the service, the authorities acted swiftly by ordering the arrest of de Witt and a fellow leader, Albert Andriessen Bratt. The following Tuesday, February 1, the day on which the New Netherland Council met in Manhattan to enact the harsh ordinance against all the Lutherans, de Witt was in court in Albany. He was charged with "having been found last Sunday in the company of the Lutherans, performing divine service," was found guilty and assessed a small fine.[95] The next week Bratt appeared in Court, and apparently because he had not come a week earlier, he was assessed the exorbitant fine of $46.[96]

A third Lutheran leader had a curious part in the court procedure. He was Volckert Jansen Douw, one of the four magistrates on the bench at the first court scene when de Witt was found guilty. Unfortunately there is no record of the scene of the Lutheran defendant facing the Lutheran judge, on the issue of freedom of worship for the Church they both loved.[97]

Further services were sternly forbidden by an order promptly issued by the court "against the congregation of certain persons of the Lutheran sect."[98] Lutheran services in Albany were as effectively suppressed as they had been in Manhattan.

Lutheran Protests Are Ignored

The Lutherans did not take this high-handed action lying down. They immediately dispatched a letter to the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam, giving the details of what had happened.[99] The Consistory acted promptly. Several of its members "called on and spoke to some of their friends among the directors of the West India Company, and they had been given good hope of obtaining free exercise of religion" in the colony.[100]

As soon as this glowing report was received, the Consistory wrote the colonial Lutherans what was to them amazing news.[101] The Consistory, the letter stated, had "by God's help" succeeded

so well with the Directors "that it was resolved and decided by them, according to information given us, that in future in New Netherland our religion of the pure doctrine according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession shall be tolerated by connivance, in the same way it is at the present time tolerated" in Holland. The Consistory therefore "ventured to advise" the colonial Lutherans "to look around for a capable person and to call him as [their] regular preacher and spiritual leader."

The same day, the Directors of the West India Company sent to Stuyvesant a severe rebuke concerning the harsh ordinance of February 1. They had apparently forgotten their own stern resolution of a year ago. The rebuke stated that it would have been better if the Governor "had not posted up the edict against the Lutherans, and had not punished them by imprisonment"; that hereafter he was not to permit any more such edicts to be published "without the previous knowledge" of the Directors; furthermore, he was to permit the Lutherans "free worship in their houses."[102]

The concluding phrase to permit "free worship in their houses" was certain to be interpreted in two contrasting ways. To the Reformed Church authorities it was perfectly clear: it meant simply "freedom to serve God quietly" in one's home, "without instituting any public gatherings."[103]

But the Lutherans were just as determined that it clearly meant freedom of *public* worship in their homes. Consequently, when they received the Consistory's letter, they struck out boldly. A new petition to Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council stated that they expected no further interference from the authorities. Their Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam had secured toleration for them from the Directors "in the same manner as in the Fatherland," wherefore they were "not to be hindered in [their] services, until a qualified person shall come next spring from the Fatherland to be [their] minister and teacher, and remain here as such."[104]

The colonial authorities, however, budged not an inch. They answered that the Lutherans might have in their homes only family

worship, which might include "praying, thanksgivings, and singing according to their faith." But if any attempt were made to include others with the family, then the order of February 1 would be rigidly enforced.[105]

Amsterdam Consistory Goes Ahead

Balked again, the Lutherans wrote the sad news to the Consistory.[106] By now it appeared without doubt that they would never get any freedom except by a specific order to Stuyvesant from the States General of The Netherlands and the Directors of the West India Company. If a pastor were sent without that order, it was certain that the "governor would send such a person back to Holland."

Schrick took the letter personally to Amsterdam,[107] and presented it to the Lutheran Consistory in January of 1657. Some of the members of that body went again to their friends among the Directors, to urge them to work for an order to Stuyvesant to grant freedom of worship to the Lutherans in New Netherland.[108]

But the Reformed Church authorities in Amsterdam had also been conducting interviews, and they gained their point when the Directors instructed Stuyvesant that they had "by no means the intention to grant the Lutherans any more liberty regarding the exercise of their religion" than they had stated the year previously.[109] The Lutherans knew then that nothing more than strictly family worship would be permitted.

The Directors' order was dated April 7, 1657. The Consistory apparently did not learn about it, but was relying upon a report made to it on April 2 that while "there appeared at present to be no chance" of a formal order from the Directors for freedom of worship, nevertheless several of the friendly Directors had "suggested in private" that if the Consistory "sent a pastor thither, public worship would doubtless be tolerated by connivance and closing of the eye."[110]

At any rate, if the Consistory failed to learn of the action of the Directors, the Directors likewise failed to learn of a

significant action of the Consistory. For at the time the Directors were sending off their order to Stuyvesant to permit no public services, Candidate Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser was being examined by the Consistory in preparation for his ordination as the first Lutheran pastor in New Netherland.

Candidate Johannes Gutwasser

On the strength of the report brought to it on April 2, the Consistory determined not to waste any time. It resolved that it "would at the first opportunity try to secure a capable and pious person" and in the name of the New Netherland congregation to "extend a call to him."[111]

Then an extraordinary thing happened. The next day, April 3, there appeared before the Consistory Candidate Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser,[112] who, "with the approval of Mr. Paulus Schrick, was offered the call of New Netherland, to go thither and hold the charge of pastor there."[113]

Just how did it all happen? One day the Consistory determines to seek a pastor, and the very next day the candidate presents himself. The only inference to be drawn is that Paulus Schrick had continuously remembered the Consistory's advice of three years ago that "he should quietly seek to contract with someone" to go to New Netherland as the pastor.[114] In that search he must have come upon Gutwasser, either in the latter's home town, or perhaps at the home of his brother in Amsterdam.[115]

So little, unfortunately, is known of Johannes Gutwasser. His home was in Schneeberg, near Meissen in Saxony (now in the Russian sector of Germany, behind the iron curtain).[116] His mother lived there; it appears that his father was dead. He had a married brother, Andreas, thirty-one years of age, living in Amsterdam. Early in 1657 he visited his brother, and that may have been the occasion when he became known to Schrick.

When Gutwasser expressed his willingness to accept the call, he took the regular examination for ordination. As a university man—he held the degree of Mastor of Theology[117]—he would

not be required to take a theological examination in Amsterdam, but, like every other candidate, he would have to satisfy the Consistory as to his soundness in the faith, and also as to his capability. Part of the latter examination was the preaching of a "trial sermon" in the church.[118]

The examination over, arrangements were speedily made that he be "ordained and inducted into the holy ministry."[119] This took place on Tuesday morning, April 10, in the Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. Obviously there was no publicity because of the Reformed hostility, and since the service was held on a week-day morning there were probably few people present in addition to Andreas Gutwasser, his wife Margaretha, and Paulus Schrick. The ordination doubtless was performed by the senior minister of the Church, Pastor Paulus Cordes, assisted by several or all of the three associate ministers.[120]

The order for Gutwasser's ordination, in Dutch, was recently found in the Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Amsterdam,[121] and is given in the next chapter. We wish it were possible to make the momentous occasion come fully alive by means of an eye-witness account of the service—whether there was a procession of ministers and candidate; how the candidate was presented; how the service was conducted; and especially how the laying on of hands proceeded. But unfortunately no such description appears to exist, and there are no rubrics relating to the above questions in the Order for Ordination. We do know the vestments worn by the officiating ministers, as seen from the reproduction of the portrait of Pastor Cordes.[122]

Pastor Paulus Cordes, Senior pastor of the Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam when Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser was ordained the first Lutheran pastor to New Netherland. —From etching received from the Church by courtesy Simon Hart, its present Archivist.

CHAPTER 6

First Pastor Ordained

In the presence of the little congregation which was assembled in the ancient Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, Candidate Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser presented himself before the officiating ministers, to be ordained to the holy ministry according to the "Order which is used at the Admission and Consecration of Pastors" in the "Christian Congregations adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in these Netherlands."[123]

The Ordination Service Begins

In the stillness of that grand old church, one of the Ministers began the stately service with the exhortation and prayer:

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ. Forasmuch as no one may be saved without believing; no one can believe unless he hears the Gospel; no one can hear the Gospel unless he has it preached to him; no one can preach unless he is sent: Therefore we are in duty bound always to pray fervently to the Most High God, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, beseeching Him, as Lord of the harvest, that He would send faithful laborers into His harvest and give capable pastors and teachers to His Church, so that His people may not be like sheep without a shepherd, but that by the work of this office the saints may be edified and the body of Jesus Christ may be established and extended.

And forasmuch as in this age God the Lord deals with us through intermediaries, therefore the leaders of the congregation are bound to see that the Office of Pastor be conferred and bestowed only upon those who are trustworthy witnesses and qualified to teach others.

In harmony with this, the God-fearing brother here

present, Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser, has been regularly called to the Office of Pastor, and we are requested to ordain and induct him into that office. In order now to fulfill this Christian request, we are here assembled, in the name and before the face of the Most High, to consecrate our beloved brother to the Office of Pastor, and to induct him into the same. But that everything may be done fittingly, let us first humbly and with our whole heart pray to the God of Mercy, in the name of Jesus Christ, saying:

O Almighty, eternal God, most heartily we beseech Thee to enlighten us in this hour of Thy Holy Spirit, and to strengthen us through the same, so that we may perform this act in Thine own Name with all due reverence and devotion. Grant, O Lord, that our brother bear in mind that his consecration to the Holy Ministry comes from Thee, through us only as intermediaries; grant also that the members of the congregation in New Netherland will receive him as Thy messenger. Gracious Father, so direct all things, that they may redound to the glory of Thy holy Name, to the extension of Thy dearly purchased church, and to the eternal salvation of many men, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Directly addressing the candidate, the Minister called upon him to "give heed unto certain precepts from the Word of God concerning the office of the Holy Ministry." Thereupon he read six passages of Scripture, five from the New Testament and the sixth from the Prophet Ezekiel, all relating to the responsibilities of the pastor.[124]

The reading having ended, the Minister asked the candidate to "take note of three things":

> *First.* That you acknowledge that your consecration to this office is of God Himself. . . . Wherefore, you are to be a steward of God, a servant of Christ, a watchman whose appointment is from the Lord.
>
> *Second.* That you acknowledge the duties required of your office, namely, to preach the Word of God and

to administer the Holy Sacraments, to have the supervision of the congregation, to teach those who need to learn, to comfort those who need comforting, to admonish those who need admonition, to discipline those who need disciplining. . . . You are to perform the duties of your office with your whole heart; . . . You are to be blameless and an example to the congregation.

Third. That you acknowledge that for your reward there will be no great riches; . . . you are to look for your reward from the Chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ, . . . you are to be found faithful, for if you become slothful or unfaithful in the work of the Lord, the curse shall overtake you.

Gutwasser's Solemn Declarations

The Minister then asked the candidate to answer, "before the face of God," certain questions concerning his faith and life, as well as his intentions in assuming the pastoral office:

First, I ask you, do you acknowledge the writings of the Prophets and Apostles of the Old and New Testaments to be inspired by God; and do you believe that the same are the sole and infallible rule according to which all doctrines are rightly to be judged?

Second, I ask you, do you hold the three ecumenical creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, to be sacred and well-founded confessions of faith; do you heartily embrace the doctrines expressed therein, and do you reject all heresies and doctrines which are opposed to the same or which at any time may worm their way into the Church?

Third, I ask you, do you regard the doctrines embraced in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of the year 1530, delivered into the hands of the Emperor Charles V, in the Apology of the same, in the Smalkald Articles, in the two Catechisms of Luther, and in the Christian Formula of Concord, as in harmony with God's Holy Word: do you heartily adhere to the same, and do you reject all errors which are condemned therein?

Fourth, I ask you, will you faithfully proclaim to

your hearers the pure doctrines set forth for us in the Holy Scriptures and repeated in the writings which are mentioned above and which our Churches join to the Scriptures; and will you warn them earnestly against all erroneous opinions and heresies, which are at variance with the Holy Scriptures and the Confessions embraced by our Churches?

Fifth, I ask you, will you uphold the Church Order and rites adopted by us, and not change anything in the same rashly or without general approval?

Sixth, I ask you, will you faithfully perform the ministrations of your office, strive to live a blameless life, set yourself as an example before the congregation, and adorn your doctrine with an honest, upright and godly life?

Seventh, I ask you, should it happen (which God forbid) that you should be at fault in doctrine or in life, will you place yourself willingly under ecclesiastical discipline, and not oppose anything which the Consistory or the General Ministerium shall lay upon you?

Finally, I ask you, have you made your answers to the present proposed questions thoughtfully, uprightly, and without dissimulation, remembering that God, by Whom this congregation is commended to you, is Himself present, that He hears your affirmations and promises, fathoms your heart and soul, and is a stern Judge against all falsehood and deceitfulness?

Having received the candidate's "solemn declarations and promises," the Minister prayed that God through His Holy Spirit would enable the candidate to remain faithful in that which he had just declared and promised. The congregation joined in the Lord's Prayer which followed.

Gutwasser Is Ordained

Approaching the solemn moment when the candidate was to be "admitted and consecrated" to his holy office, the Minister declared:

> The time has now come for the laying on of hands, which is an ancient custom in the Old Testament as well

> as in the New. But that you may know and keep in remembrance why we do this, I shall declare briefly the meaning of the laying on of hands.

Whereupon the Minister explained that the "laying on of hands has a four-fold significance":

> *First,* dear brother, you will be mindful that by the laying on of hands you are set apart and ordained of God to the office of Pastor.
>
> Whenever in old times any oxen or sheep were chosen for sacrifice, a hand was laid on their heads: In like manner hands are laid upon you to show that you are set apart, chosen and ordained of God, to feed the Church of Jesus Christ with the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments.
>
> *Second,* dear brother, know that by the laying on of hands a great burden is laid upon you. The world thinks lightly of the office of the Word, and there are some who assume that office thoughtlessly: but just as the hands when laid upon the head are heavy, so is the pastoral office a burden, filled with griefs and troubles; wherefore Paul wrote in II Corinthians 2, Who is sufficient for these things?
>
> *Third,* you are assured, dear brother, by the laying on of hands, that God will strengthen you with His supporting hand, and preserve you from all who set themselves against you.
>
> *Fourth,* you are warned, dear brother, by the laying on of hands, that you must be on your guard against all negligence and unfaithfulness. The hands laid upon your head are heavy, but far heavier upon you would be the hand of an angry God if you should neglect or disperse the Church which God has bought so dearly and redeemed with his own blood. You must watch over the souls of your hearers, for you shall give an account thereof; if you are negligent and unfaithful, the Lord of these lost souls will require their blood at your hands.

The candidate having been ordained, a beautiful prayer was offered on his behalf by the Minister:

> O Father of Light! from Whom cometh every good and every perfect gift, with Whom is no variation of light and darkness: most heartily we beseech Thee, on behalf of our brother here present, whom Thou has guided by Thy counsel and set apart and called to the Office of the Ministry, and upon whom Thou hast laid the burden of the same: guide him by Thy mighty hand, and strengthen and preserve him in all the ministrations of his office, to the greater glory of Thy Name, to the extension of Thy Church, and to the salvation of many people, through Jesus Christ, Thine only begotten Son, our Lord. Amen.

The Minister thereupon "commended" the newly ordained pastor to the congregation to which he had been called, and charged him to

> see to it that you give heed unto yourself, and unto the congregation over which God has placed you as a bishop and overseer; watch over the souls of the believers, remembering that you will have to give an account thereof.

The Service Comes to a Close

The service was coming now to a close. A general prayer was offered to "praise and thank our beloved God, and call upon Him to increase His heavenly grace," particularly to the newly ordained "brother and co-laborer."

The congregation united in the singing of the Sixty-seventh Psalm, and with the solemn benediction, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," the glorious service became a memory. It was doubtless a blessing that the young pastor did not know that the glory of his hour was not unlike that of his Master on the Mount of Transfiguration,[125] for he too was soon to walk up to a cross, and it was not a light one.

CHAPTER 7

Crushed

IMMEDIATELY upon his ordination, Gutwasser received from the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam a letter addressed to his congregation in New Netherland, calling upon all its members to "accept, honor, and respect him" as their pastor. Upon taking leave of the Consistory, he was gladdened by its generous gift of $24 "for his journey" to the new world.[126]

Shortly after Gutwasser had left Holland in the ship *The Golden Mill,* the Reformed authorities in Amsterdam learned about it, and suspected that he had been "ordained as a preacher and sent to New Netherland in that capacity." They lost no time, therefore, in getting reassurance from the Directors of the West India Company that there would be no approval of his mission.[127] Gutwasser, meanwhile, was sailing steadily westward, blissfully ignorant both of the maneuvering behind him and of the storm awaiting him.

Gutwasser Is Rejected

On Friday, July 6, 1657, his ship arrived in Manhattan, "to the great joy of the Lutherans, but to the special displeasure and uneasiness of the [Reformed] congregation."[128] Then things happened. And fast.

The Reformed leaders protested vigorously to the City Council against the Lutherans for "obstinately prosecuting their object against the known and declared will of the government." The City Council summoned Gutwasser, who stated frankly that "he had been sent on behalf of the [Lutheran] Consistory [at Amsterdam], to occupy the position of a preacher here, as far as it would be allowed." But the Council had no intention of "allowing" anything, and ordered Gutwasser "not to hold public or private exer-

cise in this city," and even commanded him "not to deliver to the congregation the letter from the Consistory until further notice."[129]

The next day the New Netherland Council made the prohibition effective for the whole colony, by ordering Gutwasser "not to hold any conventicles (meetings) within this province, either directly or indirectly, nor within the same to perform any manner of religious services, whether by preaching or by administering the sacraments."[130]

Gutwasser soon recognized the hopelessness of his mission. His congregation had been cowed by the threat of heavy fines. His own movements had been severely circumscribed by several ordinances directed at himself. In short, he knew that the authorities just did not want him under any circumstances, and unless specific orders for freedom of worship came quickly from the Holland authorities "there was no hope whatever." Such orders, of course, never arrived, for the simple reason that they were never issued. Consequently, a month later, Gutwasser was first "requested," then bluntly "ordered," to leave the colony at once.[131]

It was a severe ordeal for the young pastor. He was then two months in the colony, and because the authorities kept hounding him and his congregation, he had not "thus far held any meeting or religious services." He was distressed also that some of his members, fearful of "loss of favor or property," were turning away from his congregation. He had personal worries too, because there were so few Manhattan members who contributed to his support. If the Albany members, whom he apparently never did get to visit, had not "helped to bear the expense, he could hardly have been supported."[132] And now he was ordered to get out of the colony.

The deportation order brought the issue to a head. What were the Lutherans going to do now? They could have taken the easy way out by telling Gutwasser to return to Holland, temporarily at least, since they were helpless. But they chose rather to oppose the order.

They presented a petition to the Governor signed by twenty-

four leaders, requesting the deportation order to be held in abeyance until orders arrived from the Holland authorities, especially since Gutwasser had "behaved himself as an honest man and had never refused obedience" to the government, and since the members of the congregation, too, had "behaved quietly and obediently." Several days later, Gutwasser presented a personal petition, along the same lines.[133]

The New Netherland Council brushed both petitions aside, stating that two ships had already sailed since Gutwasser had been ordered to get out, and that since he had "treated the order of the provincial government with contempt, he is hereby once again commanded to leave with one of the ships now ready to sail." This, the intolerant officials piously added, was "necessary for the glory of God, the success of the Reformed Religion, and the common quiet, peace and harmony of this province."[134]

Gutwasser Goes Into Hiding

Four days later, Gutwasser disappeared from sight. The Lutherans, apparently not so pious as the government officials, felt that the glory of God might still be advanced without deporting their pastor, so they "sent him quietly away to a farm." Shortly afterward, his bedding and books disappeared also.[135]

The farm, located on Newtown Creek, Long Island, belonged to Laurens Andriessen Noorman, a member of the Lutheran congregation. Gutwasser got away just in time to escape arrest. When the officer returned without his prisoner, the Secretary of the province threatened imprisonment for Gutwasser, and Stuyvesant added a final touch by threatening "to fine those who offered him assistance."[136]

There were many sorrows to burden Gutwasser while in hiding, and doubtless one of the worst was the fact that he, the Lutheran pastor, could not baptize the babies of his own members. During the year he was on Long Island, babies of at least four

well-known Lutherans were baptized by the Reformed ministers in Manhattan, three of them in the church and one at home.[137]

During the bitter months, the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam was powerless to help. It got nowhere with the Directors of the West India Company, especially when the latter voted confidence in Stuyvesant by declaring that the decision to "deport Gutwasser was in accordance with our good intentions."[138] The Consistory, therefore, counselled both Gutwasser and his congregation during this persecution to arm themselves with patience and forbearance, and that meanwhile, in all stillness, keep together as far as is possible. . . . Obey the lawful authorities, and by all friendly, humble and modest supplications, especially in private, seek to gain their good will and to move them to a policy of lenient connivance."[139]

Gutwasser Is Deported

Gutwasser remained at Laurens Noorman's home on Long Island for about a year. He managed to conduct some services, in "isolated hiding places" and "under the blue sky of heaven, but even this was prevented by many arrests." At least it was "a taste" of what the people had so fervently desired, and it inspired them with "greater reason than before for obtaining" freedom of worship.[140]

Then Gutwasser became ill, and when his friends besought Stuyvesant to permit him to be taken to Manhattan for treatment, his days in the colony were numbered. Upon his arrival in Manhattan he was "arrested in his own house and placed in the custody of court messengers and soldiers." By the spring of 1659 he had recovered from his illness, and about the middle of May was placed on the ship *The Porpoise,* to "the great sorrow, distress and sadness of many anxious hearts and souls here."[141]

In their distress, the Lutherans wrote again to the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam. But this time they were determined that their appeal should go to the Directors of the West India Company, so they sent a petition directly to that body. In it they summarized

the whole miserable story, stating that they had done everything they could to appease Stuyvesant, but to no avail. Strong feeling had apparently been aroused by the deportation, for there were sixty-seven signatures to the petition. But nothing came of the appeal; the Directors simply ignored it.[142]

It was just a little more than two years after his arrival in Manhattan, when Gutwasser appeared again before the Consistory in Amsterdam.[143] But how different the scenes. Two years previously he had looked forward eagerly, with his newly acquired ordination, to serve in a foreign land. Now he was a broken man, looking back upon two years of horrid memories of man's inhumanity to man, and reporting dejectedly that his holy mission was a dismal failure.

Some of his suffering, unfortunately, was brought about by his own people in the colony. For the two years he had been in service, he claimed that he "had to live miserably without pay," except for "some support given through the generosity of some members." Furthermore, he had lost most of his books in a shipwreck, the loss totaling $100; he had been "heavily fined" by Stuyvesant; and he had even had to borrow money for his return passage to Holland. One wonders about the sixty-seven Lutherans who so loudly deplored their pastor's deportation, yet made him borrow the money to pay his passage back. The Consistory in Amsterdam had compassion, however, and granted the heroic young missionary $40 "for the loss suffered by him."[144]

Little is known of Gutwasser after that. He returned to Saxony, and enrolled in the German Lutheran Consistory at Dresden in order to secure a charge there. The Consistory in Amsterdam gave him a glowing testimonial to be presented to the German Consistory, that "in matters of doctrine as well as in daily life, he had conducted himself not otherwise than as behooves a true and faithful pastor and teacher in Christ, all according to the testimony and reports thereof sent to us from time to time" by the New Netherland congregation.[145]

Back in New Netherland the Lutherans continued in their sorrow. But it was otherwise among the Reformed leaders, who reported that there "is now again quietness, and the Lutherans again go to our church as they were formerly accustomed to do."[146] That the Lutherans returned to the Reformed Church services was only to be expected. Those who were serious about their religious life wanted to be in some church, especially for the sake of their children. But they did not enter into formal membership, always hoping for the day when they might have their own church. The official register of members of the Dutch Reformed Church in Manhattan contains not a single name of a prominent Lutheran known in this period.[147]

Paulus Schrick, ablest leader of the Lutherans, was particularly pointed out by the exulting Reformed opponents as having become "now one of the most punctual attendants" in the Reformed Church, "and has his pew near to the pulpit." The reason was obvious. During the time Gutwasser was in hiding on Long Island, Schrick had married the widow Maria Verleth Van Beeck, of the aristocracy of Manhattan. She was of the Reformed faith, and it was to be expected that after Gutwasser was deported Schrick would accompany his wife to the Reformed services, the same as other Lutherans did.[148]

Schrick, however, never became a member of the Reformed Church. And curiously enough his two children, Susanna and Paulus, were not baptized in that church until after his death in 1663. Both children eventually became communicant members of the Dutch Reformed Church, thus permanently disassociating the Schrick name from the Lutheran Church.[149]

Persecution Continues

In the thick of the controversy over Gutwasser, the Directors of the West India Company took a hand and insisted that the Lutherans be conciliated on the baptismal question. They requested Stuyvesant to have removed the two causes of offense, namely, the

statement about accepting the Reformed doctrine, and the insistence upon parents being present in church at the baptism.[150]

The Reformed clergymen of Manhattan disapproved of the changes, whereupon the Directors hinted that if the Lutherans were not placated, the States General of The Netherlands might be induced to grant them freedom of worship. The Directors had their way.[151]

The colonial officials were in no mood for a policy of conciliation. They had no intention of losing the advantage gained by their deportation of Gutwasser. About a year after that intolerant act, the Reformed leaders of Albany caught the Lutherans there "making up subscriptions for the salary of a Lutheran preacher," and they took prompt action. They reported the offense to Holland; the Directors of the West India Company reported that they had given no consent "to such a thing"; and assurance was given that Stuyvesant would keep the Lutherans in their place "if they should grow too bold."[152]

There was no likelihood on their part of becoming too bold. Rather they were silent and inactive, completely crushed by the terrible blows they had suffered so many years. And the intolerance had become so bitter that a newly arrived resident of Manhattan reported to the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam that they "dare not come together here to offer any sign of devotion, much less trust themselves jointly to sign a petition to [the Consistory], for fear of being betrayed."[153]

Hope, however, was nearer of fulfillment than any of them dreamed. The Dutch rule was shortly to pass into British hands, and the religious freedom so courageously fought for was soon to become a reality.

CHAPTER 8

Freedom of Worship

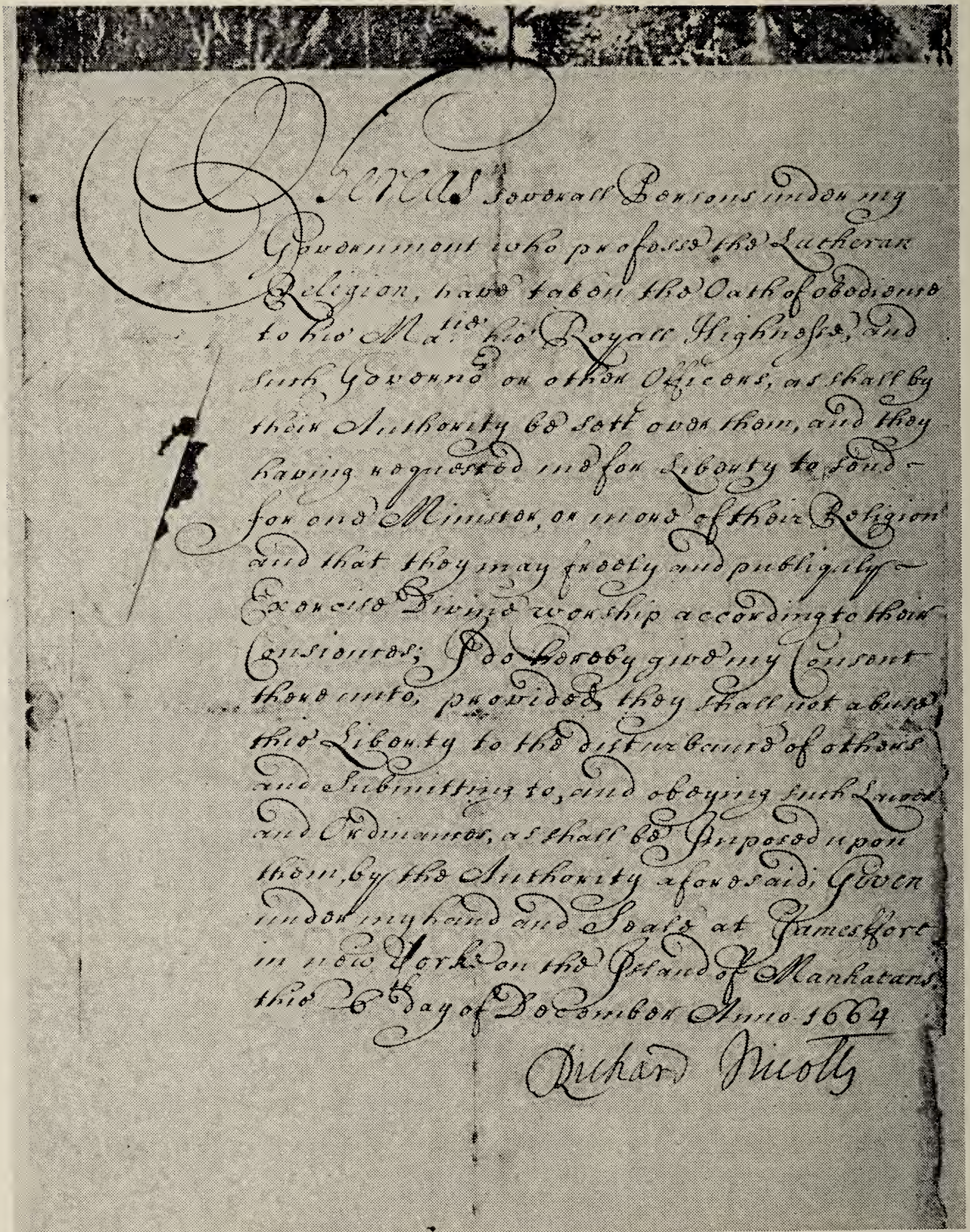
It was certainly true for the Lutherans of New Netherland that the darkest hour came just before the dawn, for while they were in deepest gloom over their plight, a powerful English squadron sailed into what is now New York harbor and quietly annexed the province.[154]

English Conquer New Netherland

The English and Dutch were nominally at peace at the time, but that was purely coincidental to Charles II of England, when in 1664 he lavishly granted New Netherland to his brother, James, Duke of York. Stuyvesant was powerless to oppose it, and when called upon to surrender he wisely accepted without fighting. When the formal surrender was completed in September, the present names came into use: New York State, New York City, and Albany. The transition from Dutch to English rule was easy, because of the generous terms of surrender and the conciliatory spirit of the first two English governors, Richard Nicolls and Francis Lovelace.[155]

In the matter of religion, toleration was the only practicable policy for the English. They could hardly give recognition only to their own Anglican (Episcopal) Church, which did not yet exist in the province, at a time when the Dutch Reformed Church was dominant. Consequently, Article 8 of the terms of surrender guaranteed freedom of worship to all, in these terms:

> The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.


Whereas Severall Persons under my
Government who professe the Lutheran
Religion, have taken the Oath of obedience
to his Matie his Royall Highnesse, and
such Governor or other Officers, as shall by
their Authority be sett over them, and they
having requested me for Liberty to send-
for one Minister, or more of their Religion
and that they may freely and publiquely
Exercise Divine worship according to their
Consciences; I doe hereby give my Consent
thereunto, provided they shall not abuse
this Liberty to the disturbance of others
and Submitting to, and obeying such Lawes
and Ordinances, as shall be Imposed upon
them, by the Authority aforesaid. Given
under my hand and Seale at James Fort
in New Yorke on the Island of Manhatans
this 6th day of December Anno 1664
Richard Nicolls

Permission for Freedom of Worship to the Lutheran Church in New York, Dated December 6, 1664.—From the original belonging to St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New York City.

The Lutherans, "spurred on by prominent persons of the English nation," promptly took advantage of this unexpected answer to their oft-repeated prayer, and on December 5 presented their petition to Governor Nicolls.[156] The next day, to their great joy, they received from the governor "the privilege to enjoy publicly free exercise of religion." This "charter" of religious freedom, so precious to the Lutherans of New York, is here given in full:[157]

> WHEREAS several persons under my government who profess the Lutheran religion have taken the oath of obedience to his Majesty his Royal Highness, and such Governor or other officers as shall by their authority be set over them, and they having requested me for liberty to send for one minister or more of their religion and that they may freely and publicly exercise divine worship according to their consciences; I do hereby give my consent thereunto, provided they shall not abuse this liberty to the disturbance of others, and submitting to and obeying such laws and ordinances as shall be imposed upon them by the authority aforesaid. Given under my hand and seal at James Fort in New York on the Island of Manhattan this 6th day of December Anno 1664.
>
> Richard Nicolls.

The letter which followed to the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam was doubtless the happiest they had written in the past fifteen years.[158] At last, "contrary to all human expectation," their hope had been fulfilled through "our faithful God, whose works are wonderful to behold." And now that there was no further problem concerning the reception of a pastor in the province, they begged the Consistory to send one to them as soon as possible. They hoped "to be able to give [him] a decent salary," for despite the great losses to their membership, there were "still together about one hundred persons, and perhaps more."

But new disappointments were in store for them. The Consistory, striving its best, could find no candidate, like Gutwasser

in 1657, who was willing to go to New York. It is pitiful to read the minutes of the Consistory for the next three and a half years, and to learn of the problems with which it had to contend in seeking out and interviewing candidates.[159]

No Pastor Is Available

At first there seemed to be no problem at all, when the earliest candidate, Arnoldus Lendrich, of Utrecht, was approached in the summer of 1665 and two months later accepted, stating he would sail the following spring. But the Consistory did not know Lendrich.

When spring came, the Consistory had to remind him about going to New York, and voted him $40 for passage money and some books. But he calmly replied that he could not go immediately, because his father had to "make a necessary trip to Germany to collect some of his debts."

Actually, he was stalling for time, to make sure of how much salary he was to get, and when and if it would be paid, and eventually wrote directly to the leaders in New York about it. "Through God's hand," they wrote Lendrich, "Albany had been severely damaged by floods, and in Manhattan the membership had decreased for various reasons." But they were anxious "not to set back this good Christian work," so the members of Manhattan and Albany together pledged $160 a year for the salary.[160]

If Lendrich did not like the small salary, he had only to say so and ask to be released. But he simply did nothing at all, so that the Consistory had to step in once again, and in December of 1666 it demanded that "he state categorically whether he is willing or not" to go to New York. Lendrich appeared surprised at the demand, replying that since he had accepted the call to New York he "still stands by this decision and intends in the coming spring to sail thither."

But another spring came, and then summer, and still neither appearance nor word from Lendrich. Then the New York congre-

gation wrote the Consistory to find out what had happened. Fearful of the real reason, the leaders hoped that "the meager salary may not prevent the coming of our reverend pastor."

Lendrich then came to the Consistory with a curious tale. Somebody, he stated, had started a nasty story about him, to the effect that he had "gambled away or improperly dissipated and squandered" $240 which he was supposed to have received in advance, but of course did not, from the New York congregation. As a result, his reputation was badly damaged, and he felt that the Consistory and the New York congregation should know about it.

But neither the Consistory nor the congregation was so "uncharitable" as to dismiss him, despite the alleged damage to his reputation. Which appears to be not at all what Lendrich had been hoping for, because six months later he finally informed the Consistory that he had accepted another call. That was two and a half years after he had first been approached.

Other candidates seemed to be little better, though they were at least more merciful in not keeping the congregation waiting while they leisurely made up their minds to turn it down.

One of them, Woltherus Conradi, revealed an unusual lack of the stuff required of a pastor in the rugged work of the still young province of New York. Writing like a school boy, he told the Consistory that "my parents seem to be troubled" about what might happen to him, concerning "the following points":[161]

> First, about the not only long but also perilous and uncertain voyage, not knowing whether one can indeed sail across without danger.
>
> Second, that one does not know the conditions of the country, whether it is expensive to live there or not, and, if so, that one could hardly get along with such a small amount of money.
>
> Third, that one does not know for certain either whether one is to have free dwelling there or not.
>
> Fourth, whether, after I had been there two or three years and should be inclined to return hither [to Holland], I should be promoted to the first vacant place.

Almost four years were spent in the fruitless search for a man willing to answer the call of the despairing congregation. How ironic the situation was. Back in 1657, when the door was closed to a Lutheran pastor, candidate Gutwasser was ready and eager to devote himself to the work. Now, when the door was wide open, there seemed to be no one who would take the risk.

A Pastor at Last

Then, quite unexpectedly, in November of 1668, there appeared before the Consistory a refugee pastor, Jacobus Fabritius, who appealed "for an allowance," inasmuch as he had been driven out of his parish in Upper Hungary "by the invasion of the Turks."[162]

The members of the Consistory must have sighed with relief at his appearance, for Fabritius, in addition to needing a place, was a middle-aged man without "wife or children," and his credentials appeared to be in good order. Sounding him out on a call to New York, he promptly "declared himself well inclined thereto."

The following Sunday evening Fabritius preached at the Church as guest preacher, and having "displayed his gifts, was judged to be a doughty person and capable preacher for the congregation of New York and Albany." Three days later he accepted the call to the congregation. This was just a week after the Consistory first met him. He left almost immediately, taking with him a letter addressed to his new congregation.[163] He had with him also a handwritten copy of the Church Order [of Service] used in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam.[164] The Church Order contained the services for seven occasional ministerial acts, namely, Infant Baptism, Adult Baptism, Absolution After the Sermon of Repentance, The Lord's Supper, Christian Marriage, The Admission and Consecration of Pastors, and the Retirement, Election, and Admission of Elders and Deacons.

Fabritius arrived in New York City on February 19, 1669,[165] to the "joy of the Lutherans, and the sorrow" of the Reformed. The old bitterness between the two groups had unfortunately not

died out with the English conquest. The Reformed leaders were still talking about the "great confusion" that would certainly result from the coming of a Lutheran pastor.[166]

Fabritius took his oath of allegiance to the English government the day after his arrival, and received his license from Governor Lovelace "to be Pastor of the Lutheran congregation, giving him liberty to exercise divine worship amongst them upon every Lord's day and other days as appointed to be set apart and observed for divine worship."[167]

The First Service in Peace

Sunday, February 21, was a memorable occasion for the congregation in New York City, for after twenty years of hoping and waiting, of persecution and disappointment, the members gathered together for a service in peace and quietness under a pastor of their own.[168]

The order of service used that Sunday morning does not appear to exist, but the general order prescribed in the constitution for the Lutheran congregations in New York a century later shows its extreme simplicity:[169]

Prayer
Reading of the Gospel appointed for the day
Hymn
Reading of one or two chapters from the Scriptures,
with brief comments on its use in doctrine and life
Hymn
Sermon
Hymn
Benediction

HET

FORMULIER-BOECK,

Vervattende

VII. FORMULIEREN,

Die by de Chriſtelyke Gemeentens, toegedaan de onveranderde Augsburgſe Confeſſie in deeze Nederlanden, gebruykt worden.

t'AMSTERDAM,

Gedrukt by d'Erfgenamen van JOAN BLAEU,

ANNO MDC LXXXIX.

Title Page of the Dutch Lutheran Occasional Service Book. The book contains the Order used for the first Lutheran Communion Service in New York.—From the original belonging to the United Lutheran Church in America, a copy recently presented by The Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam.

CHAPTER 9

First Communion Service

As MEMORABLE as was the first service on February 21, 1669, conducted by Fabritius, yet the service held three Sundays later, on March 14, the third Sunday in Lent, was undeniably of far greater significance. On that Sunday, the congregation "celebrated the first communion"—the first Lutheran communion service in New York that we have knowledge of.[170]

It is unfortunate indeed that the report of such an occasion is so brief. All that the leaders of the congregation wrote about it was that "there were forty-five persons at the Lord's Table, and we cannot conceal the joy of our hearts at the happy success."

Since Fabritius brought with him the Orders for the Absolution and for the Lord's Supper, it seems reasonable to accept the fact that he used them for his first communion service. Whether he used the Order for the Absolution on a day prior to the administration of the sacrament, or on Sunday in connection with the communion itself, is not mentioned in the records.

Preparatory Service of Absolution

The Order for the Absolution followed upon the preaching of a "sermon of repentance," and is given here in full:[171]

> Dear friends, we have seen that the Sermon of Repentance demands of us a sincere confession of our sins, and that the divine Word of grace promises us the forgiveness of the same, as the Apostle John says:[172] If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness; and David: I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. Therefore you should heartily confess your sins, and trustingly

beseech the Lord for mercy, that you may receive the forgiveness of the same. And that your repentance may be manifest, you will first clearly and truly before the holy face of God and of this Christian congregation, answer me the following questions:

I. In God's stead, I ask you, do you acknowledge and confess with contrite hearts that you are poor and lost sinners, who have many times greatly angered the Lord your God, secretly and openly, knowingly and unknowingly, by thoughts, words, and deeds, and have also offended your fellowmen in many ways, and thereby deserved every form of temporal and eternal punishment: are you heartily sorry for these your sins, and do you implore God to forgive you of the same?

So answer, *Yes.*

II. I ask you, do you firmly believe that God, in his everlasting mercy and through the precious merits of Jesus Christ, His Son, not only forgives you all your sins, but also seals with His true Body and Blood those who shall, under the Bread and Wine, eat and drink in the holy, consecrated Communion: Do you heartily believe this?

So answer, *Yes.*

III. I ask you, do you intend to better your sinful life by God's grace, to bring forth good fruit as evidence of your penitence and faith, to prove yourself a new creature in Christ, and to walk in the Spirit according to the new man; furthermore, will you from your hearts forgive your fellowmen their offenses against you, and make it manifest by showing them all your love; moreover, will you remain steadfast in the eternal Word of God and our true Christian Religion until death?

So answer, *Yes.*

May the faithful and merciful God give you both the will and the power to do these things, to the honor of His holy Name and to the eternal salvation of every one of you, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

And now humble yourselves further before the Lord your God, and confess all your sins to Him with broken and contrite hearts, entreating Him with me, saying,

Righteous, merciful God, we poor miserable crea-

tures confess that we were conceived and born in sins, and that we have frequently misused Thy holy Commandments, even trespassing greatly against them. But forasmuch as Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, we beseech Thee, for Christ's sake, O faithful God and Father, forgive us all our sins, receive us in grace, and give us eternal life: grant us, O heavenly Father, a heartfelt penitence, a firm faith, a true godliness, and a steadfastness unto the end of our lives, through our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.

(Hereupon the Minister of the Word speaks as follows:)

Upon this your sincere confession to God, I, as a Minister of Jesus Christ (by the authority of His words in John, the 20th chapter: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained) declare unto all who are penitent, the entire forgiveness of all their sins, in the Name of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: but to the impenitent I declare that their sins are retained until they change for the better, for which God Himself grant them grace, through Jesus Christ, in whose Name we pray: Our Father, etc.

The Lord's Supper

Having prepared themselves, through the service of repentance and absolution, the members were now ready to come to the Holy Supper, administered according to their own Lutheran order. We wish that for this service also we might have had preserved an eye-witness account of the group of forty-five people, assembled together in the home of one of the members, reverently and joyfully participating in this Supper of their Lord.

That nothing may mar the beauty of the order of the service, it is given here in full without additional comments:[173]

> Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ! Forasmuch as on this day we administer the gracious and comforting Supper of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which He has instituted and in which He gives us His true Body as a heavenly food, and His Blood as a life-giv-

ing drink, wherewith to strengthen our faith; therefore it is right that we should diligently and carefully examine ourselves, so that we do not through unseemly pleasure receive death instead of life, as the Apostle Paul earnestly admonished us:[174] Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's body. Therefore you who come to the holy Supper should truly know and remember:

First, that the Son of God Himself is here among you, and gives you to eat and to drink His true body and blood, in the same manner in which He took the bread, and said: Eat, this is my body, and took the cup and said: Drink, this is my blood of the New Testament. Wherefore you should worthily receive such food and drink, by true repentance and faith in Him.

Second, that this Holy Sacrament has been instituted and given to us poor sinners for the special comfort of our weak and sorrowing consciences and for the strengthening of our hearts, knowing that we have deserved God's anger and eternal death because of our sins; for, as St. Paul says, the wages of sin is death. For we find in us, if we examine ourselves carefully, nothing but all manner of grievous sins and the eternal death which we have thereby deserved: from which we can by no means free ourselves.

But our dear Lord Jesus Christ graciously has had mercy upon us, and because of our sins became man, in order that He might fulfill the law and the whole will of God for us and for our good, and has taken upon Himself our death and all that we by our sins have deserved, making payment for our redemption with His sufferings and death.

And to the end that we may be confident of this, He gives us His true body and blood in this His Holy Supper, as a pledge and assurance, so that we may never doubt that this is done for us because of our sins and for the welfare and redemption of us poor sinful creatures.

Therefore, all who are beloved in Christ should here be mindful of what poor and condemned creatures we

are, and how bitter and grievous it has been to the Lord Christ to deliver us from our sins and eternal death: because we are redeemed not by an angel or a patriarch, neither by the blood of goats or of calves; but by the blood of the Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ: otherwise we should have died and perished, and have been lost and condemned forever. Therefore let us heartily praise and thank the Lord Jesus Christ in this Holy Supper, for He died for us that we might have eternal life.

Third, this Holy Sacrament should exhort us to brotherly love, so that, even as Christ has loved us, we also should love one another: for by this shall men know that we are Christ's disciples, if, says Christ, we love one another.

Therefore, let us remember that in this Holy Supper we are all one bread and one body, even as we are all partakers of this one Bread and drink of this one Cup.

And just as out of many grains of wheat a loaf of bread is baked: so should we love as brothers, in deed and in truth, for Christ our Saviour's sake, all those who by faith dwell in Christ and who in this Sacrament grow in that indwelling life in Him; and in love should we serve one another.

Finally, let us walk in the footsteps of Christ our Lord, take up our cross gladly and patiently and follow Him: for He suffered for us and left us an example, that we should follow in His steps. To that end may the Almighty merciful God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ help us through His Holy Spirit. Amen. Amen.

Now let us call upon the Almighty, merciful God, beseeching Him graciously to sanctify our bodies and souls, that we may long for and receive His Holy Supper in true faith and thankfulness, saying:

Almighty God, merciful heavenly Father, forasmuch as we cannot truly please Thee save through Thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, we therefore pray Thee to sanctify our bodies and souls, and to grant unto us His blessed communion as we long for and receive His Holy Supper in true faith and thankfulness: guard us, O blessed God, that we may not be guilty of the Body and Blood of Thy Son, nor through unseemly

daar mede onze Heere Jeſus Chriſtus zulk zyn heylig Avondmaal verordineert en ingeſtelt heeft:

Onze HEERE Jeſus Chriſtus, in de nacht doe hy verraden wierd, nam hy het Brood, dankte ende brak 't, ende gaf't zynen Jongeren, en ſprak: Neemt, eet, dat is myn Lichaam, dat voor u gegeven word; dat doet tot mynder gedachtenis. Matt. xxvi: 26. Marc. xiv: 22. Luc. xxii: 19. 1 Cor. xi: 23, 24, 25.

Des zelven gelyken nam hy ook den Kelk na het Avondmaal, dankte, en gaf hun dien, en ſprak: Neemt en drinkt alle daar uyt, dat is myn Bloed des Nieuwen Teſtaments, 't welk voor u, ende voor veele vergoten word, tot vergevinge der zonden; zulks doet, zoo dikwils gy dien drinkt, tot myner gedachtenis.

Dit zyn onzes Verloſſers en Zaligmakers Jeſu Chriſti eygene woorden, die wy ſchuldig zyn te gelooven. Daarom die deeze woorden van herten gelooven, ende hun tot dit H. Avondmaal godzaliglyk bereyd hebben, zullen met gantſcher aandacht haarer herten hier toe treden en komen.

[In de uyt-deylinge des Broods ſpreekt de Predikant:]

Neemt en eet, dat is het Lichaam onzes Heeren Jeſu Chriſti, voor uwe zonden in den dood gegeven: dat ſterke u tot het eeuwige leven.

[In de uyt-deylinge des Kelks:]

Neemt en drinkt, dat is het Bloed onzes Heeren Jeſu Chriſti, dat voor uwe zonden is vergoten: dat bewaare u tot het eeuwige leven.

Dankzegging.

Laat ons nu den barmhertigen Godt en Heere Jeſus Chriſtus van grond des herten dank zeggen, dat hy ons zoo rykelyk geſpyſt en gedrenkt heeft in dit Avondmaal met zyn heylig Lichaam en Bloed, en bidden, dat zulks tot ſterking onzes geloofs mooge gereyken: op dat wy in 't recht geloof volſtandig tot aan ons eynde blyven, en het eeuwige leven in Chriſtus Jeſus verkrygen mogen, aldus ſpreekende:

WY danken u, ô Heere Jeſu Chriſte, dat gy ons arme zondige menſchen zoo hoog hebt begenadigt, dat gy u niet alleen voor ons in den dood, om ons te verloſſen,

maar

Pages from the Order for the Lord's Supper, showing the Words of Institution and the Words used at the Administration.—From the FORMULIERBOECK, *belonging to the United Lutheran Church in America.*

pleasure receive death instead of life: grant that our souls may all hunger and thirst after this food and drink so rich in grace; quicken our weary and burdened hearts, and strengthen our weak faith; that we, being assured anew of Thy mercy and love, strengthened in the inner man, and our spirits united more closely to the bridegroom the Lord Jesus Christ, may henceforth live in holiness of life in the same, love our fellowmen after His example, be patient in suffering, blessed in death, and joyful in the resurrection from the dead to eternal life through the power of His life giving Body and Blood: for the sake of the same, Thy dear Son Jesus in Whose Name and with Whose Words we pray further: Our Father, etc.

Now let us listen earnestly and attentively to the words of institution, wherewith our Lord Jesus Christ has ordained and established His Holy Supper:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it; this cup is the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

These are the very words of our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, which we are in duty bound to believe. Therefore, they who heartily believe these words and who have prepared themselves worthily for this Holy Supper, shall now come forward with heartfelt devotion.

(In the distribution of the Bread, the Pastor says:)

Take, and eat, this is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for your sins: this strengthen you to eternal life.

(In the distribution of the Cup:)

Take and drink, this is the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for your sins: this keep you to eternal life.

Thanksgiving

Let us now most heartily give thanks to our merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ, who has so richly given us food and drink in this Supper with His holy Body and Blood, and pray that the same may reach out to strengthen our faith: that we may be steadfast in the true faith unto the end, and gain eternal life in Christ Jesus; saying,

We thank Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou hast so greatly pardoned us poor sinful creatures, that Thou hast not only died for us for our redemption, but also given unto us Thy holy Body and Blood to eat and to drink unto eternal life. We heartily pray Thee to grant us richly Thy grace and Spirit, that we may never forget the same, but may always grow and increase in faith through deeds of love: that with our whole life we may serve Thee to Thy honor and praise, and to the blessing of our fellowmen; until we are all united in eternal life, when we may honor and praise Thee face to face: Who livest and reignest in eternity with God the Father, in oneness with the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Let us sing our hymn of praise to the Lord: Glory, praise and honor in the highest, etc.

Hereupon receive the blessing of the Lord:

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee:
The Lord make His face shine upon thee,
and be gracious unto thee:
The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee,
and give thee peace. Amen!

CHAPTER 10

More Grief and Final Joy

FABRITIUS did good work during the two months he was in New York City. He was esteemed as "both a modest and bold man," with the result that the Reformed leaders did not molest him, and prominent persons of the English "held him in high regard."[175]

In addition to the church services, he visited the sick and instructed the youth and adults for reception into the Church's membership. Interestingly enough, the first one to be so received was a fifty-year-old Negro, who was baptized on Palm Sunday, 1669, and given the name Emmanuel.[176]

Two Congregations Emerge

Fabritius provided for a firmer establishment of the Lutheran Church in the province by reorganizing the members of the "Congregation of New Netherland" into two congregations, one in New York City, the other in Albany. In New York City, the reorganization was completed on the Sunday following the first Communion. Twelve men "who were found suitable" were chosen for the church council, and "with the general approval" of the congregation they were "elected to the offices of elders, deacons and overseers."[177]

Fabritius ably summarized the needs of the congregation.[178] The greatest immediate need was a church building. He pleaded with the Consistory to "have a collection taken up" at Amsterdam and surrounding places "for the building of a small wooden church and the purchase of a couple of small bells and other necessary things." Such necessities included about a hundred hymnals and catechisms. The congregation might get even more in the way of books if there could be sent over a "small collection of type to print ABC books and catechisms."

Fabritius particularly called attention to the precarious situation of the colonial church, in having to depend upon Europe for its pastors. He proposed as a solution that the Consistory send over to the province one or two theological students, "who can easily support themselves here by teaching, in order that they, or one of them, in case of my death, might be proposed to the congregation. Otherwise the cause of our religion, owing to the great distance and the long delay, may again suffer a severe blow."

For a man of such foresight, it is difficult to understand how speedily he wrecked his career through acts that can hardly be termed other than stupid. In the light of the distressing events soon to happen, it would almost seem that he was prophetic when he told the Consistory, in his first report, that "I believe that in Europe such Lutheranism as I intend to plant here hardly exists."[179]

Fabritius in Much Trouble

After two months in New York City, Fabritius visited Albany on April 20, 1669, and held his first service there on the following Sunday, April 25.[180] But in Albany he displayed no such able leadership as in New York City.

He got into trouble at his first service. Whether it was his fault or not is not known, but the city magistrates contended that he should have shown them his license to preach before holding the service, and because of his failure to do so they "summoned him to appear before the court" to explain his negligence.[181] He did not bother to appear, however, and was reported to have said to the court messenger that he "did not intend to exhibit his license before the honorable court, but is willing to show it privately in his home."

It is not known how long he stayed in Albany after this run-in with the magistrates. The congregation's letter to the Consistory three weeks later mentioned their gratitude at Fabritius' arrival, but intimated nothing about any stoppage of services.[182] Apparently he never went near the court, for the magistrates made "several complaints" about him to Governor Lovelace, who "thought good

to suspend his ministerial function at Albany" until he had made his peace with the court.

It was not until July in 1670, more than a year after his first visit to Albany, that Fabritius finally appeared before "the full court" at Albany and admitted that he had "committed an offense against the gentlemen of the court and that he was sorry; he further promised to take care that in future he will not give cause for discontent." He stayed on to minister to his congregation, and was there at least a month.[183]

Fabritius got into much more serious trouble in New York City. By October of 1669, eight months after coming to the province, his conduct had become so offensive that the elders of the congregation had to write about it to the Consistory in Amsterdam.[184]

There were many charges made against him, none of which he apparently took the trouble to refute. He exhibited too much fondness for wine and brandy. His language was embroidered with epithets most people do not expect a clergyman to show knowledge of. He married the widow of the Lutheran tavern-keeper Lucas Dircksen[185] and, for a reason not disclosed, decked out her five children "all in red."

He himself went around in public in "apparel like a soldier, red from head to foot, having his coat and hat made like the pastors at Hamburg wear." It is not difficult to understand the sad conclusion of the letter, that people had "nothing else to talk about but the Lutheran pastor." The leaders pleaded with the Consistory to send a worthy pastor to the members, for "one cannot let them perish again."

The distressing situation retarded the development of both congregations, but did not prevent them from becoming permanently located. The New York City congregation, early in 1670, purchased a dwelling house with sufficient land for a burial ground. The house had belonged originally to the Lutheran leader Christian Barentsen Van Hoorn, and its value may be gauged by the fact that he had sold it in 1657 for $1140. It was in the form of an L,

located at the southwest intersection of Broadway and the city wall.[186] It is claimed that it occupied the exact site of the tower of the present Trinity Episcopal Church, at Broadway off Wall Street.[187]

The Albany congregation secured property about the same time, and certainly by 1672, on the present South Pearl Street between Howard and Beaver Streets. Title was not taken until about ten years later, when there was conveyed "a certain house and lot to the south of the First Kill, on which lot the Lutheran Church now stands; likewise the house for the domine (Dutch for minister), being bought and paid for by the whole congregation."[188]

The dissension in the New York City congregation was so acute by 1671 that Governor Lovelace had to appoint a commission, headed by one of the city aldermen, to "examine into the present difference between the persons of the Lutheran profession, and endeavor a peaceable composure amongst them." At the same time the congregation was threatened with the loss of its church-house because many of its members refused to pay their subscriptions as long as Fabritius remained in charge.

A New Pastor Arrives

This forced the elders to take summary action against Fabritius, and they petitioned the Governor to oust him because of conduct "unfitting one of his profession." But fortunately it was not necessary to take that step.

While the troubles had been mounting in New York, the Consistory had been busy looking for a successor to Fabritius. This time the Consistory was fortunate beyond measure, for it secured a genuine pastor and spiritual leader, in the person of Bernhard Arnzius, from North Holland. He arrived in Manhattan in the summer of 1671, whereupon Fabritius preached a "valedictory sermon," installed his successor, and left the colony.

Arnzius entered sympathetically into the sorrowful experi-

ences of his New York City congregation, doubtless because he himself knew what long-suffering was. He had experienced that in his congregation in North Holland, where he had not received his salary for a year and a half. Moreover, his ocean voyage to America had been a perilous one of nearly three months, his ship having encountered three severe storms, by one of which the "bowsprit was cracked and the entire bow rent." And no sooner had he arrived in New York City than his wife "came down with a mortal illness for six weeks," but from which she eventually recovered.[189]

Arnzius had doubtless been apprised by the Consistory of the troubles in New York, but when he saw them for himself he reported that the congregation was in a "very dangerous condition." By his judicious guidance, however, he soon "settled the differences and disputes between the congregation and Fabritius, so that afterward both sides respected him."[190]

The Congregations Firmly Established

His wise and sympathetic leadership was no flash in the pan like that of his predecessor. Four months after his arrival the congregation in New York City gratefully acknowledged to the Consistory that he was not only capable, but was one "whose life conforms to his preaching, so that now, God be praised and thanked, the mouths of our neighbors are closed, and we live together in peace and harmony." Nor did the congregation have occasion to alter its judgment. Six years later, when it reported again to the Consistory, it stated joyfully that both congregations live in "Christian harmony, concord and peace."[191]

It is to be hoped that the pastor was also in a state of peace, for the congregation acknowledged in the latter report that it was behind in his salary in the amount of $800, which was hardly a small sum in those times. With salaries so pitifully inadequate, the members must have owed their pastor more than they had paid him in his first six years. A saintly, long-suffering man indeed—and he remained with them for twenty years, until his death!

But what is of supreme importance is the fact that after twenty-two years of every kind of anguish, bitterness and disappointment imaginable, the heroic group which constituted the Lutheran Church in the province of New York had at last acquired a pastor of such saintly qualities that it could have a genuine confidence in its own future, in "Christian harmony, concord and peace."

Notes

CHAPTER 1—OLDEST LUTHERAN CHURCH

1 Julius F. Sachse, *Justus Falckner,* Phila. 1903, pp. 60-62 note 15.

2 "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America" by the present author, in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* January, 1945, 18:58, note 5, wherein the citations are given in full.

3 Report of the United Lutheran Board of American Missions, which has oversight of the Lutheran churches in the Virgin Islands, in *Minutes, United Lutheran Church in America,* 1940, p. 225.

4 *Minutes, United Lutheran Synod of New York,* 1944, pp. 152-153, 227. Prior to 1921, First Church Albany used the year 1669. *Minutes, Synod of New York of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,* 1920, p. 6.

5 Karl Kretzmann, *The Oldest Lutheran Church in America,* New York, 1914, title page.

6 The Albany Church date of 1644 is based upon a date erroneously endorsed on a document dated 1643, written by the French missionary to Canada, Isaac Jogues. In the narration of various items relating to Manhattan, Jogues noted the religious conditions there, stating: "No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed; for besides the Calvinists there are in the colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mnistes (Mennonites), etc." See "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America" in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, p. 59, especially note 10. The New York City Church date of 1664 is taken from the formal permit of freedom of worship granted by Governor Nichols, after the English conquered New Netherland from the Dutch.

7 THE OLDEST LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, 1649-1949

1649-1669
The Lutheran Church
In the Colony of New Netherland, later New York

1669
The Lutheran Church
in New York City

1729
Nas Named
Trinity Church

1749 — Schism of German members, who organized Christ Church

1784
Reunited. Named "The United German Lutheran Churches." Trinity Church building having been destroyed by fire, Christ Church building was used.

1822 — Christ Church for German members; St. Matthew's Church organized for English members. (No schism)

1831
Christ Church building sold; both congregations used St. Matthew's building. St. Matthew's was eventually the only name used.

1949
St. Matthew's Church located at
Sherman Avenue and West 204 Street

1669
The Lutheran Church
in Albany

1784
Incorporated as the "Lutheran Church at Albany," but it was commonly known as Ebenezer Church

1871
Name changed to
First Church

1949
First Church located at
Western Avenue and Cortland Place

8 The principal source was the published records in the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York,* nearly all the originals of which were secured from the Dutch Reformed archives in Holland. The earliest Lutheran records therein is dated 1653, which is four years after the Lutherans organized.

9 The story is in the Introduction by the present author to *The Lutheran Church in New York, 1649-1772, Records in The Lutheran Church Archives at Amsterdam, Holland,* translated by Arnold J. H. (*sic;* correct initial is F.) vanLaer, New York: The New York Public Library, 1946 (*sic;* actually published in 1948), pp. 5-10. The *Records* were previously published serially in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library,* beginning January, 1944, Vol. 48, No. 1.

10 A more detailed study is given in "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America" in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, pp. 57-69.

11 I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909,* 4:55. It had been generally believed that 1623 was the year in which the first permanent colonists sailed for New Netherland. "But more recent investigations prove that the *New Netherland* (the ship which brought the colonists) sailed in the spring of 1624." *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.,* 4:48, 52-53.

13 *Ibid.,* 4:64, 952. The Dutch names were: [1] ALBANY: Fort Orange (1624), Beverwyck (1652); the colony of Rensselaerswyck (1630) completely surrounded Fort Orange; for the relationship see "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America," in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, pp. 58-59, note 8. [2] MANHATTAN: Fort Amsterdam (1624), New Amsterdam (1653); upon the English conquest (1664) New York City. [3] Gloucester, N. J.: Fort Nassau. In the present volume, the familiar names of Manhattan and Albany are uniformly used.

14 *Ibid.,* 65-67. In Dutch currency, it was 60 guilders. A guilder or florin was worth about 40 cents.

15 Isaac Jogues, *"Novum Belgium,"* in *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664,* ed. by J. Franklin Jameson, 259, 262.

16 "Petrus Stuyvesant," in *Dictionary of American Biography,* 18:187-189.

17 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:121.

18 *Ibid.,* 1:81; 4:231.

19 Jogues, *op. cit.,* 259.

20 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:55.

21 The author's *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 3-5, wherein the sources are cited in full.

22 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 19, 23.

23 Jogues, *op. cit.,* 260.

24 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:152, 155, 158, 165, 166.

25 *Ibid.,* 4:163-164.

26 *Ibid.,* 4:172.

27 *Ibid.,* 4:181.

28 *Ibid.,* 4:184, 186, 187.

29 *Ibid.,* 4:209.

CHAPTER 2—LUTHERANS IN NEW NETHERLAND

30 Unless other citations are given for Chapter 2, see the author's *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* pp. 49, 53-57, as well as his "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America" in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, pp. 58-61, 64-65. The sources are cited in full.

31 Concerning the question as to whether most of the Lutheran colonists came directly from their native countries, or settled first in Holland and later went to New Netherland, all that the Lutherans themselves have said (in their petitions for freedom of worship) was that they had come "from divers lands of Europe." *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 14-15. Prof. W. J. Kooiman, of the University of Amsterdam, as well as of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary in that city, in his *De Nederlandsche Luthersche Gemeenten in Noord-Amerika,* published in 1946, p. 55, note 76, believes that "many Scandinavians had lived long in Amsterdam and had become Netherlanders" prior to going to New Netherland.

32 Albert Andriessen Bratt, a leader of the Albany Lutherans, arrived in 1637. Jochem Beekman, a leader in Manhattan, arrived in 1639 or earlier.

33 Jonas Bronck arrived in 1639, and died in 1643. John O. Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674,* Minneapolis 1916, 167, 180.

34 PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS: Christian Niessen, Sgt. (*Colonial Documents, New York,* 13:86); Andries Rees (Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:332); George Hanel (*Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:196); Andries Lauren (Evjen, *op. cit.,* 116). TURNERS: Davidt Wessels (*Year Book, Holland Society of New York,* 1900, p. 126); Laurens Andriesen [Van Buskirk] (*Records of New Amsterdam,* 2:144). FARMERS: Pieter Jansen Winckelhoeck (*Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:383); Harmen Eduardsen (*Colonial Documents, New York,* 13:233). TAVERN-KEEPERS: Hans Dreper (*Records of New Amsterdam,* 2:197); Lucas Dircksen, who had a tavern "of questionable character" (Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:219). BAKER: Hendrick Willemsen (Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:257). ACCOUNTANT: Matthys Capito (*Ibid.,* 6:335). REAL ESTATE DEALER: Harmen Smeeman (Evjen, *op. cit.,* 278-280, cites his large holdings). SKIPPER: Claes Jansen de Wit (*Correspondence of Jeremias vanRensselaer,* ed. by A. J. F. vanLaer, p. 235). MASTER CARPENTER: Christian Barentsen (*Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:384). He lived in the house which later was to become the first building of the Lutheran Church. COOPER: Meyndert Barentsen (*Records of New Amsterdam,* 3:142). COBBLER: Jochem Beekman (*Ibid.,* 1:162). BREWER'S MAN: Jacob Eldertsen (*Ibid.,* 2:318). LABORER: Luycas Eldertsen (*Ibid.,* 7:146).

35 Details in Stokes, *op. cit.,* vol. 2, the "Castello Plan." Two lived outside the city: Pieter Jansen Winckelhoeck had his farm on Long Island; Harmen Eduardsen in what is now Jersey City. (See previous note, under "Farmers.")

36 TRADERS AND REAL ESTATE DEALERS: Jan Hendricks de Bruyn (Joel Munsell, *Collections on the History of Albany,* 4:105); Omy LaGrange (*Ibid.,* 2:115); Jan Thomassen Wittbeck (*Ibid.,* 4:184w); Tjerck Claessen de Witt (*New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* 17:251-252); Volckert Jansen Douw, who was also a brewer (Munsell, *op. cit.,* 4:117-118; *Early Records of the City and County of Albany,* 2:15); Albert Andriessen Bratt, who was also a tobacco planter (Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:333). BAKERS: Willem Juriaensen (*VanRensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* p. 820); Evert Luykassen (*Minutes, Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1668-1685,* 1:120); Jan Harmensen [Backer] (*Ibid.,* 2:48; *Early Records of the City and County of Albany,* 2:193); Jochem Wesselsen (Munsell, *op. cit.,* 4:184u); Jan Franz vanHosen (*Minutes, Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652-1660,* 1:78). BLACKSMITHS: The Fredericksen brothers, Carsten and Meyndert (Evjen, *op. cit.,* 409-410). TOBACCO PLANTER: Arent Andriessen (*VanRensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* p. 810).

37 Locations of their property are given on "Diagrams of Lots in Beverwyck" (present Albany), in Munsell, *op. cit.,* 4:185-224.

38 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* **17.**

39 Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:326; 4:114, 153.

40 Under Section 4 of the Ordinance of February 2, 1657, in *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674,* p. 302.

41 His name does not appear in the "Records of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York, Church Members' List," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* 9:38*ff*, 72*ff*.

42 Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:257, 383.

43 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 81.

44 Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:238; *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:120; *Colonial Documents, New York,* 2:105.

45 Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:381-382.

46 *Register of New Netherland,* 100; *Colonial Documents, New York,* 13:232-233; *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:248.

47 *Documentary History, New York,* 3:243 (4to ed.), 401 (8vo ed.).

48 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 95. He died in 1702. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* 56:256.

49 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 17. He signed his name there simply as Volchart Jansz.

50 *VanRensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* 825-826; *Minutes, Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady,* 3:412; *Early Records of the City and County of Albany,* 2:15; "Albany County Records," in Joel Munsell, *op. cit.*, 4:117-118.

51 *VanRensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* 826; *Colonial Documents, New York,* 13:108-110; *Minutes, Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck,* 1:15, 126, 216-217, 269.

52 The story is told below, chapter 5.

53 *Year Book, Holland Society of New York,* 1897, p. 121; *Register of New Netherland,* 72.

54 *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady,* 1:19.

55 *VanRensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* 809-810; Evjen, *op. cit.*, 22-24; Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:333, 410.

56 *Early Records of the City and County of Albany,* 2:73-74.

57 *Records of New Amsterdam,* 2:158; *Colonial Families of America,* ed. by Ruth Lawrence, National Americana Society, New York, 11:30.

58 Stokes, *op. cit.*, 2:282.

59 *Colonial Documents, New York,* 12:360; "Albany County Records," in Munsell, *op. cit.*, 3:209; *Year Book, Holland Society of New York,* 1900, p. 173.

60 *Records of New Amsterdam,* 1:296, 379; "Albany County Records," in Munsell, *op. cit.*, 3:188, 4:257. On the rarity of the title, see Mrs. Schuyler VanRennselaer, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century,* 1:210.

CHAPTER 3—COME OVER AND HELP US

61 *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York,* 1:429.

62 *Ibid.*, 1:440.

63 *Ibid.*, 1:423, 428-430.

64 William H. Kilpatrick, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York,* Washington 1912, 68; Stokes, *op. cit.*, 4:216.

65 Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, 72, quoting *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:97-98.

66 Estimated on the basis of the 150 families which they claimed four years later, in 1653. *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 14.

67 For Manhattan: Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:115; For Albany: *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:394-395.

68 *Cf. Ibid.,* 1:449.

69 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:89, 92, 186. The years were 1639 and 1658 respectively.

70 This is what they eventually did, purchasing a dwelling in 1670. See Chapter 10 below.

71 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:103.

72 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 16. The sum, in Dutch currency, was 800 guilders.

73 *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 4.

74 Referred to in their letter of Oct. 4, 1653. *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 15. The original petition, most unfortunately, appears not to be in existence; exhaustive search has been made for it by Mr. Simon Hart, archivist of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, Holland.

75 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 16.

76 *Ibid.,* 15.

77 *Ibid., 22*; "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America," in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, pp. 65-66.

CHAPTER 4—BLOCKED

78 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 13. This is the earliest known record pertaining to the Lutheran Church in New Netherland. The original, in Dutch, is reproduced in the frontispiece. Because of its importance, it is transcribed here in full:

Absente: S[eigneu]r Pieter Hunthum.

Ordinaris Dingsdaechse Consistoriale Vergaderinge van de E[dele] Heeren Predicanten, Gedeputeerde ouderlingen en[de] voorstaenders deser Gemeente gehouden op den 12 Octob[ris] Anno 1649.

1. Is geopent ende gelesen, het schrijvens van eenige ledemaeten haer verclaerende toegedaen te wesen, onse religie der onveranderde Aughsburgsche Confessie, in Niew Nederlandt, omme etc., aldaer met een predicant voorsien te mogen werden.

Is verstaen dese saecke, als van verre insicht sijnde, in bedencken te houden, omme naermaels met rijpe deliberatie, dienaengaende resolutie genomen, ende dienvolgende, rescriptie gedaen soo bevonden sal werden te behooren.

79 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 13.

80 *Ibid.,* 13-15.

81 *Ibid.,* 15-17.

82 "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America," in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* cited above, p. 64.

83 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:317-318.

84 *Ibid.,* 1:320-321.

85 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 18.

86 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:322-324.

87 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 18.

88 *Ibid.,* 19.

89 *Ibid.,* 254.

CHAPTER 5—PERSECUTED

90 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 254; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:429, 449.

91 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 20; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:359. *Cf.* also *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 67, for the simplicity of the Lutheran service under Dutch Reformed influence.

92 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 254.

93 *Laws and Ordinance of New Netherland,* 211-212; *Records of New Amsterdam,* 1:20-21. The fines, in Dutch currency, were 100 pounds Flemish and 25 pounds Flemish respectively.

94 *Minutes, Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck,* 1:251-252; Carl Carmer, *The Hudson,* N. Y. 1939, 41.

95 *Minutes, Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck,* 1:247. The fine was six florins ($2.40).

96 *Ibid.,* 1:251-252. In Dutch currency, 115 guilders.

97 He signed third on the list of magistrates sitting that day. It is possible, of course, that he did not sit at this particular case.

98 "Albany County Records," in Munsell, *op. cit.,* 4:239.

99 Letter of March 18, 1656. This was not found in the archives of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam. It is referred to in the Minutes of the Consistory, dated June 13, 1656, in *Lutheran Church of New York, Records,* 20, and in the Consistory's reply, dated June 14, 1656, in *Ibid.,* 254.

100 *Lutheran Church in New York, Record,* 20.

101 *Ibid.,* 254-255.

102 *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland,* 213 *n.*

103 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:381.

104 *Ibid.,* 1:359.

105 *Ibid.*

106 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 20-21.

107 Mentioned in the latter part of the letter.

108 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 255.

109 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:372-373.

110 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 22.

111 *Ibid.*

112 In the records there are various spellings. He himself wrote it *Gutwasser.* The Dutch wrote it *Goetwater,* or sometimes in the hybrid form *Goetwasser. oe* in the Dutch has the same sound as the *ü* in German.

113 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 22.

114 *Ibid.,* 18.

115 Andreas was married in the Amsterdam Lutheran Church (*Trouwregister der Ev. Luth. Gemeente te Amsterdam*); and his two children were baptized there (*Doopregister, Gemeente Archief te Amsterdam*).

116 Unless other citations are given, these data concerning Gutwasser have been taken from the manuscript report of Mr. Simon Hart, Archivist of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, made for the United Lutheran Synod of New York, 1948.

117 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 30; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:405.

118 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 46, 256.

119 *Ibid.,* 256.

120 There were four pastors serving the Amsterdam Church at the time: Paulus Cordes (the senior pastor), since 1641; Elias Taddel, since 1643; Remerus Ligarius, since 1644; and Johannes Erasmus Blum (Bloem), since 1655. Report of Mr. Hart, cited in note 116 above, quoting J. Loosjes, *Naamlijst van predikanten, hoogleeraren en proponenten der Luthersche Kerk in Nederland* (M. Nijhoff, Den Haag, 1925).

121 In the volume titled *Het Formulierboeck, vervattende VII Formulieren, die by de Christelyke Gemeentens, toegedaan de onveranderde Augsburgse Confessie in deeze Nederlanden, gebruykt worden* (*The* [*Church*] *Order Book, embracing seven Orders which are used in the Christian Congregations adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in these Netherlands*). The earliest existing copy was printed in 1672, and is in the Library of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary at Amsterdam. A copy printed in 1689 (70 pages), was generously given by the Consistory of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam on August 29, 1948, to the United Lutheran Church in America, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary in 1949 of the establishment of the Lutheran Church in New Netherland. A photostat copy has been made for the United Lutheran Synod of New York, and is in the custody of the Synod's Committee on Documentary History. The list of the seven Orders is given in Chapter 8.

122 Copy of Pastor Cordes' portrait was presented to the author by Mr. Simon Hart.

CHAPTER 6—FIRST PASTOR ORDAINED

123 *"Het Formulier, 't welk gebruykt word by de Aanneming en Inzegening der Predikanten"* ("The Order which is used at the Admission and Consecration of Pastors"). It is No. VI in *Het Formulierboeck* cited in note 121 above, pp. 40-53. The names "Johannes Ernestus Gutwasser" and "New Netherland" have been inserted here, in the same way as they were inserted when the order was used for his ordination. The Order is to be published in full in a forthcoming issue of *The Lutheran Quarterly*.

124 The passages were: John 20:21-22, Matthew 28:18-20, Acts 20:28, Titus 1:7-9, I Peter 5:2-4, and Ezekiel 33:7-9. The Authorized (King James) Version is used here for all Scripture passages in this Order, in place of a direct translation of the Dutch.

125 Matthew 16:21—17:9.

CHAPTER 7—CRUSHED

126 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 23, 256.

127 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:377, 380, 382.

128 *Ibid.,* 1:393-394; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 24.

129 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:387-389.

130 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 24.

131 *Ibid.,* 24-26, 30; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:405-406.

132 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 27-28. His reports make no mention of any visit to Albany. *Ibid.,* 24-45.

133 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:405-408; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 30.

134 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:407-409; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 31: Stokes, *op. cit.,* 4:182.

135 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 32; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:412.

136 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:430, 433; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 34, 39. The Dutch name for Newtown Creek was Maspeth Kill.

137 The year 1658. The fathers were Hans Dreper, Jochem Beekman, Lucas Dircksen and Casper Steinmetz. "Baptisms 1639-1730 in the Dutch Reformed Church, New York," in *Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society,* Vol. 2.

138 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:423.

139 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 35-36.

140 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:433; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 37-38, 43.

141 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:433, 444, 449; *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in Albany,* 1:202; *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 37, 39.

142 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 37-40.

143 *Ibid.,* 41.

144 *Ibid.,* 44-45.

145 *Ibid.,* 45-47.

146 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:449-450.

147 "Dutch Reformed Church, New York, Members 1649-1669," MS translation in New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

148 "Marriages 1639-1801 in the Dutch Reformed Church, New York," in *Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society,* 1:23; *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:449.

149 "Baptisms 1639-1730 in the Dutch Reformed Church, New York," cited above, 2:70; "Dutch Reformed Church, New York, Members 1649-1669," translation in New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, pp. 29, 34.

150 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:423, 425.

151 *Ibid.,* 1:427, 431, 440, 460-461, 486, 505.

152 *Ibid.,* 1:483, 504, 515.

153 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 47-48.

CHAPTER 8—FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

154 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 1:108-113.

155 Unless other citations are given, see *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 21-22.

156 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 48-50. The date on the petition was December 15, which is "New Style" calendar, used by the Dutch. December 5 is "Old Style" calendar, used by the English down to 1752. When the date is given in both styles it is written: December 5/15, 1664.

157 Original in the archives of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New York City. Printed in *State Library Bulletin, History No. 2,* May 1899 (Albany), "Colonial Records, General Entries, Vol. 1, 1664-1665," p. 136. For clearness, the spelling has been put in modern form in the present volume.

158 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 50.

159 *Ibid.,* 51-63.

160 The pledge was "50 beavers." *Ibid.,* p. 56. A beaver was worth about 8 guilders or florins, or $3.20. *Cf. Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:409.

161 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 62.

162 *Ibid.,* 63-64.

163 *Ibid.,* 64-65.

164 *Ibid.,* 64. *Het Formulierboeck* . . . fully described in note 121 above.

165 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 70. The date is "Old Style," corresponding to March 1 "New Style." Inasmuch as most of the records in the English period are dated in "Old Style," the dates here used are uniformly old style unless otherwise noted. To make them equivalent to our modern calendar (new style) add ten days to the date given.

166 *Ecclesiastical Records, New York,* 1:602-603.

167 The original, dated February 20, 1668/[69], is in the archives of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New York City. Copy is in *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 65-66.

168 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 68. The day was Quinquagesima Sunday.

169 *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 67, citing the Constitution for Congregations in New York, adopted in 1735.

CHAPTER 9—FIRST COMMUNION SERVICE

170 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 68.

171 *"Het Formulier, 't Welk gebrykt word by de Absolutie na de Boet-Predicatie"* ("The Order which is used for the Absolution, following the Sermon of Repentance"). It is No. III in *Het Formulierboeck* cited in note 121 above, pp. 20-23.

172 The Authorized (King James) Version is used here for all Scripture passages in this Order, in place of a direct translation of the Dutch.

173 *"Het Formulier, 't Welk gebruykt word by de bedieninge van des Heeren Avondmaal"* ("The Order which is used for the Administration of the Lord's Supper"). This is No. IV in *Het Formulierboeck* cited in note 121 above, pp. 24-31.

174 The Authorized (King James) Version is used here for all Scripture passages in this Order, in place of the direct translation of the Dutch. In the first passage quoted, the Authorized Version's alternate word *judgment* has been used in place of *damnation,* because the former word is closer to the Dutch.

CHAPTER 10—MORE GRIEF AND FINAL JOY

175 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 68.

176 *Ibid.,* 68, 70. It is not known if a record of pastoral acts (baptisms, marriages, etc.) was kept. None is known to exist prior to 1703.

177 *Ibid.,* 70. The original for "overseers" is the German *Vorstehern,* corresponding to the Dutch *Voorstanders,* which in other places has been translated as "leaders." *Ibid.,* note 42.

178 *Ibid.,* 71.

179 *Ibid.*

180 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 73. Prior to the recent recovery of these records, it was generally believed that Fabritius had "first settled at Albany" (Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century,* 2:337), and that he "came from Albany to the charge of the Lutheran Church in New York City" (Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:220).

181 Unless other citations are given, see *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 24-26.

182 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 73-74.

183 *Ibid.,* 78.

184 *Ibid.,* 76.

185 Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:220.

186 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 79. Location is shown on "Castello Plan, Block A, No. 17," in Stokes, *op. cit.,* 2:224-225.

187 Karl Kretzmann, *The Atlantic District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri . . .* (Erie, Pa. 1932), p. 6. Dr. Kretzmann was an ardent student of Lutheranism in New York City.

188 In addition to *Lutheranism in Colonial New York,* 25, note 62, *cf.* also *Early Records of the City and County of Albany,* 3:375-376, re a contract signed by Fabritius on November 26, 1670, for the purchase of a house and two lots in Albany.

189 *Lutheran Church in New York, Records,* 84-85.

190 *Ibid.,* 85.

191 *Ibid.,* 83, 86-87. The arrears in salary, in Dutch currency, was 2,000 guilders.

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